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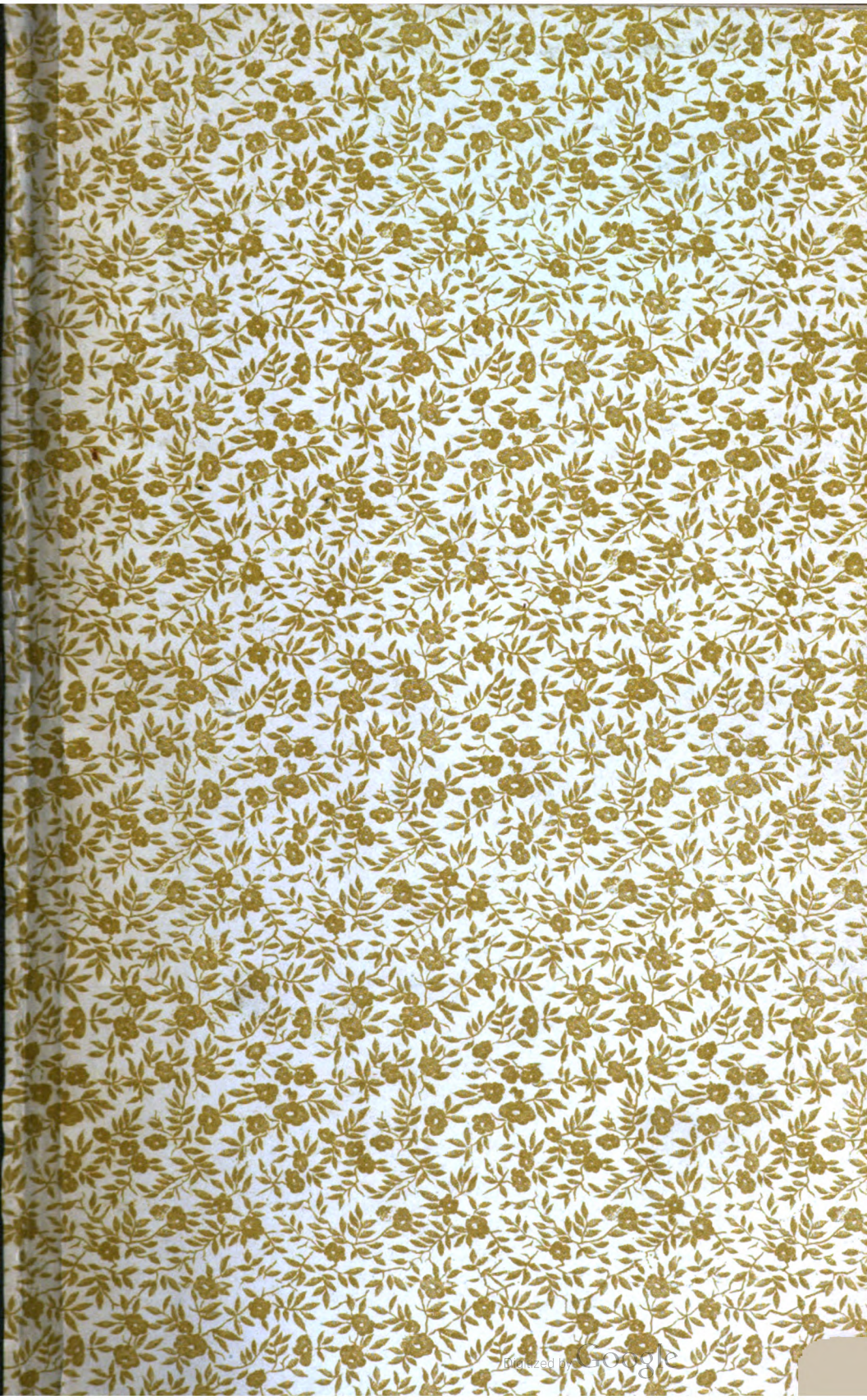






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**TO**  
**BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE**

**OCTOBER 23, 1921**





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EDITED BY

**CHARLES WILLIAM EMIL MILLER**

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF

**MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, HERMANN COLLITZ, TENNEY FRANK,  
WILFRED P. MUSTARD, D. M. ROBINSON**

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TO BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE

OCTOBER 23, 1921

On the occasion of the ninetieth anniversary of your birth, it has seemed fitting to dedicate to you this forty-second volume of the American Journal of Philology. The volume is not extraordinary; except for the index of your Brief Mention, it does not differ from many others. A larger, more representative, and conceivably more ideal volume might have been produced. But bulk would have been prohibitive; to invite all your friends, impracticable; to discriminate among them, invidious. As it is, the regular size of the Journal has been adhered to; only papers that were on file have been printed; and the choice of the papers has been determined by the usual editorial considerations. On behalf of the contributors, then, I ask you graciously to accept this volume as a humble token of affection and regard; on behalf of the numerous company of pupils, colleagues and friends that are perforce not represented in these pages, I beg leave to assure you that they would have delighted to unite with the others in bringing loyal tribute; on behalf of all, I desire to extend to you the most hearty congratulations and to express the fervent wish that your future years may be blessed with abundance of health and happiness.

C. W. E. MILLER.



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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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## I.—AND AND OR.

Leo, *Hermes* XLII (1907) 52, remarking that in *Ciris* 395 and *Georg.* 4, 389 we should expect *vel* for *et*, says, "Darüber bedarf es einer Untersuchung." The matter has been touched on here and there—at most length, I think, by Wagner, *Quaest. Verg.* XXXVI, and by Wickham in his edition of Horace. Prof. W. A. Merrill, *A. J. P.* XXI (1900) 185, laid down a rule for the Lucretian use of *que* and *ve* with forms of *qui*; Klotz, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* XXXV (1915) 816, gave some examples of the Latin use of the copulative particle, for which editors, as he observes, are prone inconsiderately to substitute the disjunctive. The examples I give of both particles are drawn partly from other languages; it has seemed to me that even an imperfect comparison of other usage is helpful toward understanding variations or singularities in Latin.

Bentley on Hor. *Epod.* 5.33 explained *bis terque* as equivalent to *saepe*, *bis terve* as equivalent to *raro*. Wickham on Hor. *A. P.* 358, while professing to accept Bentley's definition, gave really a different turn to the phrases, rendering each not, like Bentley, by a less definite word, but with emphasis on the precise value of the numerals, *bis terque* by "twice or thrice at least," *bis terve* by "twice or thrice at most"; similarly Tyrrell on *Cic. Q. fr.* 3.8.6. But Latin expresses "at most" by *summum* or (*cum*) *plurimum*; "at least" by (*cum*) *minimum*; when these limiting words are not used, the combination of two numerals may have, not in Latin only, an indefinite sense, the notion of comparative rarity or frequency being inferred from the context. Two interpretations in Bentley's sense of such combinations are

Schol. Plat. Gorg. 498 E παροιμία δις καὶ τρίς τὸ καλὸν ὅτι χρὴ περὶ τῶν καλῶν πολλάκις λέγειν, and Dig. 1.3.5 ad ea potius debet aptari ius quae et frequenter et facile quam quae perraro eveniunt. τὸ γὰρ ἅπαξ ἢ δις, ut ait Theophrastus, παραβαίνουσιν οἱ νομοθέται. But an implication not of rarity but of comparative frequency is contained in Thuc. 5.10.9 ἡμύοντο καὶ δις ἢ τρίς προσβαλόντα, Cic. Att. 6.1.2 bis terve ὑπομεμνημόρους litteras miserat, and Shakespeare, Henry V, 5.1.65 "I have seen you gleeeking and galling at this gentleman twice or thrice"; cp. Mart. 8.3.1 sex septemve libelli est nimium, which means "so many as," not "so few." The Oxford Dictionary recognizes an indefinite sense for both the "and" and the "or" combinations: VII 118 "*Once or twice*, a few times; *once and again*, more than once, twice (or oftener)"; X 527 "*Once or twice, twice or thrice*, used indefinitely: a few times."

In strictness "or" gives only a choice between two numbers, "and" expresses either (1) the actual attainment of the higher number or (2) the desirability of its attainment: (1) N. T. Thess. 1.2.18 ἠβελήσαμεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις, Cic. Att. 14.18.1 adductus sum tuis et unis et alteris litteris,<sup>1</sup> Plin. Ep. 4.3.1 semel atque iterum consul fuisti, Macaulay, *Horatius*, "And thrice and four times tugged amain"; (2) Plat. Gorg. 498 E καὶ δις γάρ τοι καὶ τρίς φασὶ καλὸν εἶναι τὰ καλὰ λέγειν, Georg. 2.399 terque quaterque solum scindendum. But it seems to me impossible to make a distinction between the use of the two particles which shall be valid for the following paired passages: Thuc. 1.82.2 διελθόντων ἐτῶν καὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν, 4.124.4 δύο μὲν ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπέσχον; Hor. C. 1.31.13 ter et quater anno, Suet. Aug. 78 in illo temporis spatio ter aut quater; Mart. 10.11.6 lotam, ut multum, terque quaterque togam,<sup>2</sup> 12.3.17 versus

<sup>1</sup>There is, I think, a like use of *et unus et alter* in Hor. S. 1.6.101 where the first *et* is sometimes explained as postpositive with *ducendus*. Cicero probably means *duabus*; Horace's phrase is indefinite like Martial's, 1.103.6 calceus est sarta terque quaterque cute, where also the particle is doubled. Latin is not averse to a doubling which looks odd because our stock rendering of the doubled particle is not applicable; so of *et* Liv. 35.29.3, 40.16.8, Trebell. Gallien. 18.1; of *nec* Hor. A. P. 8, Paul. Sent. 1.12.4 in caput domini patronive nec servus nec libertus interrogari potest; of *vel* ibid. 2.9.1 servus vel filius familias . . . in solidum vel patrem vel dominum obligat.

<sup>2</sup>A passage which tells against Wickham's view; for *ut multum*,



duo tresve legantur; Tac. D. 21 vix in una et altera oratiuncula, G. 6 vix uni alterive. The ultimate concurrence in meaning of the two combinations—or rather the ultimate trespassing of “and” on the domain of “or”—is sharply illustrated by Plut. Lysand. 10 δύο καὶ τρεῖς τρήρεις ἅς ἐπέμψε κατασκόπους beside Xen. Anab. 4.7.5 δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὀπλισμένους and by Cat. Agr. 65 postridie aut post tertium diem quam (olea) lecta erit, (oleum) facito . . . si gelicidia erunt cum oleam coges, triduum atque quadriduum post oleum facito. The desperate attempts to find for Soph. El. 726 τελούντες ἔκτον ἰβδομόν τ’ ἤδη δρόμον an explanation which shall not admit an illogical “and” in place of a logical “or” show how the grammatical mind revolts against such a license. Musgrave’s “τε pro ἢ,” like Serv. Aen. 2.37 que pro ve posuit, is too crudely expressed; it is better to say that the two combinations may often be used indifferently and that this indifference is sometimes carried further than a scrupulous conscience can approve.

A correction is made by *potius* with a disjunctive, “or rather”: Cic. Verr. 6.74, Att. 4.1.1, Fam. 12.29.1. An emphatic addition, sometimes virtually a correction, is made by *atque adeo* “and indeed”: Liv. 10.5.14, Cic. Verr. 3, 157. The two expressions start from different points of view, but it may happen that neither Latin nor English would find any difficulty in substituting the one for the other; compare Verr. 4.71 redemptorem decumarum atque adeo aratorum dominum with 6.76 hostem populi Romani seu potius communem hostem, and Verr. 4.11 magna atque adeo maxima with Q. fr. 2.13.1 magna vel potius maxima. When the second word or phrase is not a more emphatic expression of the first, but a contradiction of it, our idiom demands the disjunctive particle, as in Verr. 4.173 quae est ergo ista ratio aut quae potius ista amentia. Even here Latin admits the copulative: Cic. R. A. 29 hoc consilio atque adeo hac amentia, Caecil. 68 hoc institui atque adeo institutum referri, Rhet. ad Her. 4.36 vicerunt atque adeo victi sunt. See Tyrrell on Att. 1.7.9, 15.3.3, and contrast Georg. 1.24 with Ov. Tr. 3.1.77. The change of sense, the exclusion of the first

virtually equivalent to *sumum*, is used with the *que*, not the *ve*, combination. But I have not found *sumum* or *plurimum* used with the copulative particle. (*Terque quaterque* is Schneidewin’s reading and that of the MSS; *terve quaterve* Friedl., Lindsay, following Haupt.)

word or phrase, may be brought out more clearly by a following explanatory clause; so Rhet. ad Her. l. c., Verr. 3.89, cp. Plin. Ep. 2.17.25. The equivalence of the two corrective phrases is shown by interchange, *sive* with *adeo*, *ac*, rarely *et*, with *potius*<sup>2</sup>: Verr. 2.87 huius improbissimi furti sive adeo nefariae praedae, R. A. 110 fide ac potius perfidia. The equivalence of *adeo* and *potius* with the copulative appears from Cic. Planc. 48 posco atque adeo flagito, Legg. 1.5 postulatur et flagitatur potius. The same corrective sense belongs to *immo*: Att. 6.2.7 Brutum tuum, immo nostrum, Fam. 12.16.1 adulescente tuo atque adeo nostro, Plin. Ep. 6.18.3 Firmanis tuis ac iam potius nostris; cp. Sen. Ep. 58.1 with Plin. Ep. 4.18.1, Quintil. 2.2.8 with Fam. 4.3.1. Occasional minglings occur: Rhet. ad Her. 4.55, Cic. Clu. 172 atque adeo potius, Lucr. 1.1019 sive adeo potius, Greg. Tur. H. Fr. praef. atque immo potius.

Familiar to us is the use of the copulative in "killed and wounded" and like expressions. Sir John Moore, *Diary*, uses "or" only twice, where the loss was of the whole force: ii 14 "Not a man of the French escaped being killed, wounded or taken," 96 "He had captured or sunk them all." In twenty-four passages, where the loss is partial, Moore uses "and": ii 9 "Many officers and men were killed and wounded. Our loss this day amounted to thirteen hundred killed and disabled." Mr. Fortescue, *Hist. Brit. Army*, vols. ii-iii, employs "and" much oftener than "or," (102:12, if I have counted rightly), but uses them indifferently of a partial loss: ii 329 "Nearly four hundred had fallen killed and wounded," 380 "Twenty-eight officers fell killed or wounded." In iii 446 he writes, "The gunners were killed or wounded almost to a man" (practically all); on the other hand, Clarendon, the third volume of whose *History of the Rebellion* I have glanced through for comparison, has "He killed and wounded the whole party except some ten," and again "He killed and wounded and dispersed them all." The few examples in Grant's *Memoirs* show his use to agree with Moore's; so too the four instances in Caesar: B. G. 5.43.5, 7.88.7 *atque* with *magnus numerus*, 2.25.1, B. C. 3.38.4 *aut* with *omnes*. The author of B. Alex., like Mr. Fortescue, uses either particle

<sup>2</sup> *Ac* with *potius* we translate varyingly by "or," "and," or "but"; Holden *De Officiis, Index*, says too bluntly "*ac* = *sed*."

with respect to a partial loss (18.4 *que*, 46.5 *aut*), the disjunctive of a loss of the whole, 76.4. But B. Afr. 25.3 *capti interfectique sunt omnes*, like Clarendon.<sup>4</sup> My incomplete collection of examples from Livy shows twenty-four instances of the copulative, twenty-one of the disjunctive.<sup>5</sup> I have not found him using the copulative with *omnis* (cp. 24.16.4, 37.24.10); but he does not hesitate to employ it of a total loss, so 36.44.6 *deiectis caesisque propugnatoribus*, which is less clear than 26.40.8 *pulsis custodibus aut caesis*. Finally I note Cic. Fam. 15.4.8 *occisi captique*, Vell. 2.12.5 *caesa aut capta*, 46.1 *caesis et captis*.

We have here two modes of distributing losses under the different heads—by summing up with “and” and by dividing with “or.” A third way is by the asyndetic repetition of nouns or adverbs: B. Afr. 50.4 *quos Caesaris equites consecuti partim interfecerunt, partim vivorum sunt potiti*, Liv. 33.36.3 *multi occisi, multi capti*. Outside of the military sphere an illustration of all three forms of expression is afforded by local adverbs or phrases. In Latin, besides the asyndetic *huc illuc* we find often *huc atque illuc*; the disjunctive I have noted only in Sen. D. 5.6.6 *in hanc aut illam partem transferre*, Tac. G. 44 *mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium*, Plin. Ep. 2.17.18 *hac vel illac cadit*.<sup>6</sup> The distributive force of the particles is brought out by comparison of Tennyson’s “This way and that dividing the swift mind” with the passage on which it is based, Æn. 8.20 *atque animum nunc huc celerem, nunc dividit illuc*, and of Cic. de Or. 1.184 *huc atque illuc intuentem* (Bunyan, “he looked

<sup>4</sup> Unless this is an abbreviated way of saying *capta oppida interfectique sunt omnes*. In 61.3 *pulsi convulneratique* the writer perhaps means that all were wounded as well as routed: this at any rate is what is expressly denoted in 52.3 *eos convulneratos usque in castra regia reppulerunt multosque ex iis interfecerunt*. The other instances in B. Afr. are, of the copulative 17.2, 41.1, of the disjunctive 63.5, 85.6, 93.3, 95.2.

<sup>5</sup> *Atque* 34.32.18; *et* 2.17.2, 35.29.3, 38.49.11, 40.16.8; *que* 2.47.9, 5.26.8, 6.2.12, 23.1.9, 25.41.7, 28.6.5, *ib.* 16.6, 31.41.14, *ib.* 42.6, 48.11, 32.12.3, 35.29.7, *ib.* 30.11, 36.19.6, *ib.* 44.6, 38.17.6, *ib.* 39.2, 42.66.2, 45.1.9; *aut* 10.45.11, 24.16.4, *ib.* 20.6, 40.14, 25.1.4, 26.40.8, 29.33.6, *ib.* 34.16, 30.6.8, 31.21.17, *ib.* 23.8, 36.9.11, 37.24.10, *ib.* 30.8, 58.3, 38.23.3, *ib.* 5, *ib.* 39.3, 47.6, 41.11.6, *ib.* 28.8.

<sup>6</sup> I do not include Ter. Andr. 266, where the meaning is not, “now this way, now that,” but “in the direction in which you choose to turn it.”



this way and that") with Att. 13.25.3 *Academiam volaticam . . . modo huc modo illuc*. As to Georg. 4.388 (Cir. 395) qui piscibus aequor et . . . curru metitur equorum, it may be set beside Ov. Tr. 2.527 sic madidos digitis siccatur Venus uda capillos et modo maternis tecta videtur aquis, where the insertion of *modo* makes clearer the fact that the goddess is represented, not as doing two things at once, but in two separate poses. And Stat. Silv. 1.2.135 huic pennas et cornua sumeret aethrae rector is also a good parallel to the Virgilian passage, if we remember that the latter might be paraphrased, not only by *modo—modo*, but also by asyndetic repetition of the pronoun. If Statius had written *huic pennas, huic cornua* he would have made somewhat more definite what, even with *et*, we know to be meant, that the two disguises are alternatives. Of course *vel* or *aut* might be used, but *et* is not a substitute for one of these; it expresses a different manner of envisaging the alternatives.

This difference in the point of view from which associated facts may be regarded, and the consequent different expression by one or other of the two particles, is further illustrated by the following examples, in which phrases of a like tenor exhibit varyingly the disjunctive or the copulative: Livy 31.11.17 si quid ad eas addi, demi mutarive vellet, Thuc. 5.23.6 ἦν δέ τι δοκῇ προσθεῖναι καὶ ἀφελεῖν; B. G. 5.30.3 aut ferro aut fame intereant, B. Alex. 60.1 ferro flammaque consumerentur; Tac. Ann. 1.9 vita eius varie extollebatur arguebaturve, ib. 25 diversis animorum motibus pavebant terrebantque; ib. 28 prout splendidior obscuriorve laetari aut maerere, Plin. N. H. 16.19 pro differentia generum breviora vel longiora, Ter. Hec. 380 ut res dant sese, ita magni atque humiles sumus, Sen. D. 1.1.4 subeunt ampliores minoresque, prout illas lunare sidus elicit; Plin. N. H. 14.52 in Rubrum litus Indicumve merces petitas, ibid. digna opera quae in Caecubis Setinisque agris proficeret, Catull. 45.5 solus in Libya Indiaque tosta | caesio veniam obvius leoni, Ulp. Dig. 49.15.24 ab hostibus autem captus, ut puta a Germanis et Parthis; Plin. N. H. 2.229 fons eodem quo Nilus modo ac pariter cum eo decrescit augeturve, ibid. pariter cum aestu maris crescunt minuunturque; Tac. D. 35 tyrannicidarum praemia aut etc., ib. 1 causidici et etc.; Bacon, Essay XXIX "Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times," Essay XI "In place there is licence to do good and

evil"; Gardiner, *Hist. of England* I, 48 "Every political movement involved a question of life or death to the nation," *N. Y. Times*, Oct. 27, 1919 "This is a matter of life and death to the women and children of the miners' families"; Moore, *Diary* i 302 "prevent them from plundering and ill-using the inhabitants," Fortescue i 57 "robbery of churches or peasants"; *ibid.* 86 "rejecting all who were physically deficient or imperfectly armed," p. 126 "for the relief of poor, indigent and aged soldiers."

I doubt if "and" in Catull. l. c. and in the common English phrase, "a matter of life and death," can be defended as logical; here the parallelism of the two particles seems to have brought about the same result, trespass by "and" on the field of "or," that we found to occur with numerals and in the corrective phrases. In all the other cases "and" is normal; Ulpian's participle is equivalent to a relative clause, so that a *Germanis et Parthis* (captus) = *qui a Germanis quique a Parthis captus est*; cp. *Æn.* 5.67, 6.612 (but 610 aut qui), *Sall. C.* 14.2 (but 3 aut with participles).

The fact that distribution may be expressed by contrasted nouns or adverbs, as well as by the particles, leads to a mingling of expressions; the noun or adverb is (1) combined with, (2) set over against, the particle. (1) *Cic. de Or.* 3.198 *terna aut bina aut nonnulli singula verba dicebant*, *Plin. N. H.* 10.112 *percusso semel, aliquae et gemino ictu, aëre feruntur* (the fact that Pliny uses *et* = *etiam*, not *et* = *que*, seems to me to make no difference in the general character of the expression); (2) *Cic. de Div.* 2.121 *Venerium iaciat aliquando, nonnumquam iterum ac tertium*, *Verg. Buc.* 1.65 f., 10.130 f., *Plin. N. H.* 7.38 *alius septimo mense, alius octavo et* (that is *alius alio mense*; we might say "and so on") *usque ad initium undecimi*, 10.113 *sine voce non volant multae aut e contrario semper in volatu silent*, 14.15 *hic purpureo lucent colore, illic fulgent roseo nitentque viridi*, *Spartian. Hel.* 5.10 *Boream alium, alium*

\*"An *aliae* pro *aut*" Mayhoff, an unnecessary conjecture which interprets the sense. Cp. *Serv. Aen.* 2.124 *multi bis intelligendum*, *id. ib.* 10.131 *subaudiendum alii atque alii*. Noteworthy is the shift in *Liv.* 45.31.1 *in qua cognitione magis utra pars Romanis, utra regi, favisset, quaesitum est quam utri fecissent iniuriam aut acceperissent*.

Notum, et item Aquilonem aut Circium ceterisque nominibus appellans.

In both Latin and English the distributive disjunctive is a convenient abbreviation for "the former—the latter" and like phrases: Tac. G. 1 a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separantur, ib. 4 frigora atque inedia caelo solove adsuerunt (tolerare), Ann. 1.55 insigni utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide, Moore, *Diary* i 307 "Some people were observed on foot or on horseback," Grant, *Memoirs* i 314 "Most of the killed and wounded fell outside . . . and were buried or cared for by Buckner," Bacon, Ess. xxix "When the Lacedaemonians and Athenians made war to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies"—where the monosyllable saves the author from having to write "the former to pull down democracies and set up oligarchies, the latter to pull down oligarchies and set up democracies."

The use of the distributive copulative with numerals is especially to be noted: Michelet "On les pendit par vingt et par trente" (translating the words of a medieval chronicler, illic viginti illic triginta . . . suspendens), Thuc. 4.32.3 διέστησαν κατὰ διακοσίους τε καὶ πλείους, ἔστι δ' ἡ ἐλάσσους, Xen. Anab. 4.8.21 τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο ("some on the third, some on the fourth day"), Plat. Phaed. 63 Ε ἀναγκάζεσθαι καὶ δις καὶ τρίς πίνειν τοὺς τι τοιοῦτον ποιοῦντας, Moore "It was not until the 11th and 12th that we reached this bay" ("we" being the different ships of the fleet), Dana, *Two Years* "buy shoes at three and four dollars a pair," ibid. "These horses were bought at from two to six and eight dollars apiece," Varr. R. R. 2.8.3 tricenis ac quadragenis milibus admissarii aliquot venerunt, B. G. 3.15.1 singulas binae ac ternae naves circumsteterant (Holmes, *Conquest of Gaul* p. 91 "Two or more galleys rowed up close to one of the enemy's ships"), B. G. 5.14.4, Liv. 28.2.8, Sen. Controv. 1.9 praef. 4, Plin. N. H. 8.35 (dracones) quaternos quinosque inter se cratium modo amplexos, 16.202, Capitol. Gord. 19.3, Vopisc. Aurelian. 26.4. So "and" is used in English with "by" and "in": Shakesp. W. T. 1.2.438 "And will by twos and threes at several posterns Clear them o' the city," *New Statesman* "The police are never allowed to go out in the daytime except in twos and threes." Noteworthy is Bacon's phrase, Ess. xxi "Like Sibulla's

offer, which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holds up the price."

English does not, I think, exhibit the association of the two particles with each other in the same sentence, which in Latin appears in two ways, (1) different combinations having different particles, (2) the particles varying in the same combination: (1) Sall. C. 14.3 quos manus atque lingua periurio aut sanguine civili alebat, Suet. Jul. 26 nullum largitionis aut officiorum genus publice privatimque omisit, Liv. 21.1.2, Tac. D. 15 *fin.*, H. 1.62, Sil. 1.427; (2) Catull. 25.3 vel pene languido senis sitique araneoso, Val. Fl. 8.90 ceu refluxus Padus aut septem proiectus in amnes Nilus et Hesperium veniens Alpheus in orbem, Hor. C. 3.27.2 ff., Prop. 2.1.27 ff., Ov. Tr. 1.11.15, Plin. N. H. 14.119, Sen. D. 4.3.2, Luc. 2.199 f.; cp. in Tac. D. 18 quosque, in Sen. D. 2.9.2 quaque, following on *aut*.

The use of *et* or *que* after a negative was recognized by Bentley on Luc. 2.354; cp. Luc. 1.65, 5.454, Plin. N. H. 8.28 nec amplius quam semel gignere pluresque quam singulos, Mart. 2.11.9 nihil colonus vilicusque decoxit, Tibull. 2.4.17, Ov. Her. 2.90, Sil. 1.427. It is found also in English: Bacon "it seeth not dangers and inconveniences," Clarendon "he was not received and avowed," Stevenson "not pained by personal attention and remark," Dowden "with no private and personal motive." I believe that the disjunctive is more usual in both languages, but have no statistics. In French *ni* is regular, and Littré notes no other usage; but Plattner, Ausführh. Gram. d. franz. Spr. (a reference for which I am indebted to my colleague, Professor E. B. Davis) recognizes the employment of *et* and *ou*; add to his examples Voltaire, Poésies Mêlées 136 "Jamais dans Athènes et dans Rome On n'eut de plus beaux jours ni de plus dignes prix"; Carlyle, quoting and translating this, turns *et* into "or." In Latin the two particles may alternate with each other and with *non* or *neque*: Georg. 2.495 ff., 4.210 ff., Prop. 2.1.19 ff., Stat. Ach. 1.436 f., Sil. 1.171 ff., Mart. 6.42.3 ff., Tac. D. 40 ne Macedonum quidem ac Persarum aut ullius gentis.

Under the same head belongs the use of the copulative with *sine* and in questions. Of the latter I have only three examples: Mart. 7.95.5, Ov. Tr. 2.344, Cic. Fam. 3.11.2; contrast (though not interrogative) Fam. 15.4.14. The former, as is well known, varies with the use of the disjunctive; Tac. Ann. 1.1 sine ira et

studio, Agr. 1 sine gratia aut ambitione; I have not collected examples. "And" is found in earlier English after *sans*, Oxf. Dict. VIII, pt. 2.98; and I find in Shakespeare, K. J. 3.4.51, "Without eyes, ears, and harmful sound of words." But the other six Shakespearian examples that I have been able to collect from Schmidt's *Lexicon* and Bartlett's *Concordance* have "or"; and contrast the linking of synonyms by the copulative in Sall. Jug. 41.9, Liv. 26.48.11, with English "without stop or stay" (Prior, Scott). German renders French *sans peur et sans reproche*, or *sans peur ni reproche*, by *ohne Furcht und Tadel*; Muret-Sanders, ii, 1523, cite *ohne Hut und Stock*, with which compare Suet. Aug. 10 sine paludamento equoque and contrast Dana's "without shoes or stockings." Goethe's "ohne Spielerei und Anmassung" shows the copulative with words of different signification, Bacon's "without insolency or bravery" and Milton's "without all doubt or controversy" the disjunctive with words of kindred meaning.

Wagner explained *que* in *Æn.* 2.37 as marking a subdivision: "prior quidem sententia in duas solvitur . . . aut abolendam machinam . . . aut terebrandam censent." The following passages might perhaps be cited in confirmation: Vell. 1.12.3 qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit aut dixit ac sensit, Sen. D. 2.10.4 dolor corporis et debilitas aut amicorum liberorumque amissio et patriae bello flagrantis calamitas (where, however, Wagner's theory could not apply to the second *et*), Tac. Agr. 22 nullum . . . castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum,<sup>8</sup> Dig. 1.12.1.10 contemni se a liberto dixerit vel convicium se ab eo passum liberosque suos vel uxorem, 4.6.1.1 cum is metus aut sine dolo malo rei publicae causa abesset inve vinculis servitute hostiumque potestate esset. But a similar effect may be produced by a disjunctive which varies with a copulative or by a change from one disjunctive to another: (1) Plin. N. H. 11.212 bisulca scissive in digitos pedibus et cornigera, 16.140 venatus classisve et imagines rerum, Capitol. Gord. 21.4 quos servos habuerit . . . et quos amicos et quot paenulas quotve clamydes; (2) Plin. N. H. 1. praef. 12

<sup>8</sup> Professor Stuart's rendering, in his edition, "*retreat as a result of negotiations; hence, capitulation*," raises the question whether *fuga* can denote a retreat without any pursuit, actual or feared. I do not know if there are examples of such a sense.

*excessus aut orationes sermonesve aut casus mirabiles vel eventus varios*, 11.13 *aut temporum locorumve mutata ratio est aut erraverunt priores*, 17.166 *iugum fit pertica aut harundine aut crine funiculove*, Sen. D. 4.35.5 *quales sunt hostium vel ferarum caede madentium aut ad caedem euntium adspectus*. The effect thus created of emphasizing the connection in signification or construction between two members of a series might seem thus to be brought about, not especially by the employment of the copulative, but by any variation of the particles, were it not that they vary also in cases where no such effect is produced; it would seem therefore as if the variation were made only for the sake of syllabic harmony or to avoid monotonous repetition.

Divergence of Latin from English usage occurs with the disjunctive as well as with the copulative: Liv. 24.45.3 *ad Faleriorum Pyrrhive proditorem tertium transfugis documentum esset*, Mart. 11.31.5 *has prima feret alterave cena, | has cena tibi tertia reponet*, Liv. 26.8.6 *aut quanto* (commented on by Weissenborn), Tac. D. 33 *didici quid illi scirint aut nos nesciamus*, G. 38 *ut ament amenturve*, Agr. 10 *adcrecere aut resorberi*. On Plin. N. H. 10.123 *adeo satis iusta causa populo Romano visa est exsequiarum ingenium avis aut supplicii de cive Romano*, Mayhoff queries "*An potius ac?*" Pliny's *aut* is not odder than Horace's *et* in Sat. 1.6.42, which editors pass by without comment. Whether we render *atque*, *ibid.* 77, by "and" or "or," depends on whether we render *quivis* by "every" or by "any." Where each of the two points of view, that which couples and that which disjoins, is equally correct, the only question that arises is whether in a given language idiomatic usage admits either particle indifferently or excludes the one in favor of the other. The occasional use of either in a context where it is logically indefensible seems to arise from pushing parallelism too far; because the two particles may often be employed at choice, they are sometimes treated as possible alternatives in cases where such treatment is unjustified.

W. H. KIRK.

Buttens College.



## II.—DIE ENDUNG DES PARTIZIPIUM PRÄTERITI DER GERMANISCHEN STARKEN VERBEN.

Jede bisher vorgebrachte Erklärung dieser Frage geht von dem von Paul <sup>1</sup> aufgestellten Gesichtspunkt aus, dass hier alte (d. h. vorgerm.) Stammabstufung zwischen indogerm.  $\acute{e}:\acute{o}$  = germ.  $\acute{e}(i):\acute{a}$  vorliege. Für diese Auffassung aber bieten weder die verwandten Sprachen noch das Germanische einen genügenden Anhalt, da ja beim Part. prät. Stammabstufung im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes (d. h. fest geregelter, mit dem indogerm. Akzent zusammenhängender Wechsel des Suffixvokales) nirgends begegnet. Vielmehr spricht das Zeugnis der germanischen Sprachen insofern gegen Pauls Ansicht, als im Part. prät. der starken Verben die Suffixsilbe *-in-* neben *-an-* dem Gotischen <sup>2</sup> noch fremd ist, und erst in der jüngeren Epoche der germanischen

<sup>1</sup> H. Paul, "Zur Geschichte des germanischen Vocalismus," *Beitr.*, VI, S. 239 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Zwar begegnet im Gotischen die Suffixsilbe *-in-* beim Adj. (vgl. *fulg-in-s* 'verborgen'), aber niemals beim Part. prät. der starken Verben. Es liegt kein Grund vor, z. B. altn. *folg-inn* Part. prät. zu *fela* Inf. (= got. *filhan*) auf got. *fulgins* (d. h. urgerm. \**fulg-in-*) zurückzuführen, wie dies Paul (ibid., S. 240) und Noreen (*I. F.*, XIV, S. 401) wollen, denn dem altn. *folg-inn* stehen die westgerm. Formen dieses Part. prät. mit  $\alpha$ -Brechung (vgl. ahd.-alts. *-folhan*, angs. *-folen*) zur Seite. Hier geht das Nord- und Westgerm. offenbar nicht auf got. *fulg-in-s* Adj., sondern auf got. *fulh-an-s* (d. h. urgerm. \**fulg-an-*) Part. prät. zurück. Wenn es "eine starke Zumutung" ist, altn. *folginn* von got. *fulgins* zu trennen, wie dies Noreen (ibid.) meint, so ist es eine noch stärkere Zumutung, altn. *folginn* z. B. von angs. *-folen* und somit von westgerm. \**folg-an* zu trennen. Daraus, dass im Got. das Adj. *fulg-ins* und das Subst. *aig-in* (Neutr. sg. des Adj.) die Suffixsilbe *-in-* aufweisen, folgt nicht, dass sie alte Part. prät. vertreten; sie können doch selbständige Adjektivbildungen sein, die aber zu demselben Stamm (d. h. \**fulg-*, \**aig-*) gehören wie die Part. prät. Es ist nicht einmal ausgemacht, dass das *-in-* der Adjektiva und das *-an-* der Partizipien im Got. zu einander im Ablautverhältnisse stehen. Professor Collitz (briefliche Mitteilung) hält es für möglich, dass das *-i-* der Adjektiva auf indogerm.  $\acute{i}$  zurückgeht, wie bei den altind. Adjektiven mit "Suffix *-in-*" (z. B. *úrmin*, 'wogend,' neben *úrmī-* (m.) oder *rgmīn-*, 'singend,' neben *rgmīya-* 'preiswürdig').

Sprachgeschichte auftritt, der die schriftlichen Denkmäler des Nordischen und der westgermanischen Sprachen angehören.

Es handelt sich im Germanischen offenbar nicht um 'altes' *-in-* neben *-an-* im Part. prät. der starken Verben, sondern nur um altes *-an-*, wie es im Gotischen vorliegt, gegenüber einer Neuerung des Nord- und Westgerm. in jüngerer Zeit. Ich werde also im folgenden zu zeigen versuchen, dass dieses *-in-* (bezw. *-en-*) im Part. prät. des Nord- und Westgerm. nicht auf das vermeintliche 'alte' *-in-* des Urgerm., wie es z. B. im gotischen Adj. *fulgins* vorliegt, zurückzuführen, sondern als jüngere Entwicklung aus ursprünglichem *-an-* zu erklären ist.<sup>2</sup> Da die altn. Part. prät. auf *-in-*: *-en-* sich nicht von den westgerm. Part. prät. auf *-in-*: *-en-* trennen lassen, so werde ich zunächst die Verhältnisse I) im Nordgerm. und II) im Westgerm. kurz besprechen und dann schliesslich III) diese Verhältnisse mit einander in Zusammenhang setzen.

I. Die Suffixsilbe *-in-*: *-en-* der Part. prät. der starken Verben im Nordgermanischen.

Kock<sup>4</sup> stellt die Hypothese auf, dass dieses *-in-*: *-en-* im altn. Part. prät. auf altes *-an-* zurückgehe, abgesehen vielleicht von denjenigen Fällen, wo die Wurzelsilbe des Part. prät. ein *i* (oder *ai*) enthielt. Hier könnte nach Kock bei freier Wahl zwischen ursprünglichem *-an-* und ursprünglichem *-in-* (auf Grund des Wurzelvokals, d. h. infolge der Vokalharmonie) dem Suffix *-i(e)n-* 'altes' *-in-* zugrunde liegen; d. h. also nur bei der 1. Ablautsreihe (wie z. B. *bit-i(e)nn* aus *\*bit-IN-R*) und bei gewissen reduplizierenden Verben (wie z. B. *heit-i(e)nn* aus *\*hait-IN-R*).

<sup>2</sup>Die folgende Erklärung der Entwicklung des jüngeren *-in-*: *-en-* aus altgerm. *-an-* gründet sich zum Teil auf die mir brieflich mitgeteilten Ansichten des Herrn Professor Collitz, namentlich hinsichtlich der Verhältnisse im Anglo-Friesischen.

<sup>4</sup>A. Kock, "Der A-Umlaut in den altnord. Sprachen," *Beitr.* XXIII, S. 497 ff., und "Zur Frage nach dem Suffix der Participia Passivi altnordischer starker Verba," *I. F.*, XXXIII, S. 337-350. Mit Kock nehmen Walde (*Die germ. Auslautsgesetze*, S. 94), Hultman (*Hälsingelagen och Upplandslagens ärfdabalk* I, Helsingfors, 1908) und Heusler (*Altisl. Elementarbuch*, § 119) an, dass das urgerm. *-an-* des Part. prät. im Altn. zu *-en-* (später *-in-*) geworden sei. Walde ist jedoch der Meinung, dass schon zu urgerm. Zeit *a* in einer Zwischensilbe *lautgesetzlich* in *i* übergegangen sei, eine Auffassung, die mit Kocks Theorie über das Auftreten des Suffixes *-in-* grosse Ähnlichkeit hat.

Die belegte Form *hait-IN-az* der Runeninschrift von *Tanum* führt er als Beweis für diesen Lautstand zu urnord. Zeit an, der bei freier Wahl zwischen *-in-* und *-an-* dem urgerm. Lautstand entsprechen soll.

Da aber im Ost- und Westgerm. die Suffixsilbe *-an-* bei der 1. Ablautsreihe tatsächlich vorliegt (vgl. got. *bit-ANS*, *hait-ANS*, ahd. *gi-bizz-AN*, *gi-heiz-AN*), ist Kock zu der Annahme gezwungen, dass der Vokal *-a-* hier ursprünglich (d. h. im Urgerm.) nicht bestanden habe, sondern aus den übrigen Ablautsreihen in die 1. Ablautsreihe analogisch übertragen worden sei. Dabei ist er also genötigt, die Verhältnisse im Ost- und Westgerm. für jüngere Entwicklung als diejenigen im Nordgerm. zu halten und infolge dessen die zeitlichen Verhältnisse der einzelnen Sprachen umzustossen.

Kocks Hypothese rührt offenbar aus dem Bestreben her, den Mangel der *a*-Brechung im Part. prät. der 1. Ablautsreihe im Nord- und Westgerm. zu erklären. Dass hier aber der Mangel der *a*-Brechung nicht auf einem ursprünglichen (d. h. urgerm.) Verhältnis zwischen dem Vokal der Suffixsilbe und dem Vokal der Stammsilbe beruht, sondern der Wirkung des erst später entwickelten gemeinsam nord- und westgerm. Gesetzes der *Ablautsharmonie* zuzuschreiben ist, geht aus Professor Collitz' <sup>6</sup> Begründung dieses Gesetzes klar hervor. Der Mangel der *a*-Brechung ist hier also nicht aus urgerm. Verhältnissen, sondern aus den jüngeren nord- und westgerm. Verhältnissen zu erklären.

Ferner beweist die Form *hait-IN-az* der Runeninschrift von *Tanum* nichts für ein ursprüngliches Gesetz der Vokalharmonie (zwischen dem *-i-* der Suffixsilbe und dem *i*-Laut der Wurzelsilbe), weil sich hier das *-in-* als nachträgliche Schwächung aus altem *-an-* in Mittelsilben erklären lässt, gerade wie im Altangs. oder im Ahd. (vgl. II, a, c). Wenn weiter die Form *slag-IN-az* der *Möjebroer* Inschrift richtig überliefert ist, <sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>H. Collitz, "Das Analogiegesetz der westgermanischen Ablautsreihen," *M. L. N.*, XX, S. 65-68, March 1905; noch eingehender erläutert in "Segimer oder: Germanische Namen in keltischem Gewande," *J. E. G. Ph.*, VI, S. 297 ff., Jan. 1907.

<sup>6</sup>Vgl. A. Noreen, "Suffixablaut im Altnordischen," *I. F.*, XIV, S. 401. Gegen Noreen liest Kock ("Zur Frage nach dem Suffix der Participia Passivi usw.," *I. F.*, XXXIII, S. 348-350) *slaxinaz* statt *slacinaz*

spricht sie gegen Kocks Theorie, weil trotz des *a* der Wurzelsilbe die Suffixsilbe ein *-i-* aufweist. Wenn die Form *slag-IN-az*, woraus später altisl. *slegi(e)nn* entwickelt ist, das Part. prät. von *slá* (Inf.) zu urnord. Zeit darstellt, so erklärt sich das *-in-* in *slag-IN-az* am einfachsten, ebenso wie in *hait-IN-az*, als nachträgliche Schwächung aus ursprünglichem *-an-* in Mittelsilben.

Gegen Kocks Auffassung sucht Noreen<sup>1</sup> zu zeigen, dass altn. *-en-* : *-in-* nicht bei einigen Ablautsreihen aus altem *-in-*, bei anderen Ablautsreihen dagegen aus altem *-an-* entwickelt sei, sondern bei sämtlichen Ablautsreihen auf der Ausgleichung zwischen altem *-in-* und altem *-an-* innerhalb des Paradigmas beruhe, indem "in urnord. Zeit, wenigstens bei sehr vielen Wörtern, die (alten) Suffixformen *-in-* und *-an-* innerhalb eines Paradigmas der Art verteilt waren, dass jene nebetonig und daher später nicht synkopierend, diese unbetont und daher später synkopierend waren" (vgl. seine *Altisl. Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 167, Anm. 3).

Adjektivische Formen mit altem *ü* (bezw. *y* = *i*-Umlaut des *ü*) der Stammsilbe (wie z. B. altschw. *upin* : *ypin*) lassen sich nach Noreen aus den unsynkopierten Kasus, die Formen mit *a*-Brechung dagegen (wie z. B. altschw. *opin*, altisl. *opinn*) aus den synkopierten Kasus erklären, und ebenso die Part. prät. der starken Verben mit *i*-Umlaut<sup>3</sup> (z. B. *sleginn*, *tekinn* der VI. Ablautsreihe, vgl. *Altisl. Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 491, 5) und mit oder ohne *a*-Brechung (z. B. *boðinn*, *flotinn* der II. Ablautsreihe gegen *bitinn*, *snriðinn* der I. Ablautsreihe).

Kock ist weiter der Meinung, dass es strittig sei, was die Inschrift und besonders was die Runenkombination *slawinaz* bedeute, und dass daher die Form *slawinaz* (oder *slaginaz*) nichts gegen seine Auffassung über altes *-in-* beweise.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. A. Noreen, *Altisl. Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 167, Anm. 3, "Suffixablaut im Altnordischen," *I. F.*, XIV, S. 399-402, "Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen," im *Grundriss der germ. Phil.*, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Da alle Verben mit *g*, *k* die umgelauteten Formen (vgl. *sleginn*, *tekinn*, usw.), dagegen alle Verben ohne *g*, *k* die unumgelauteten Formen (vgl. *alinn*, *galinn*, usw.) gewählt haben, so glaube ich mit Kock (*Beitr.*, XXIII, S. 487 ff.), dass hier der Umlaut erst durch den palatalen Konsonanten hervorgerufen ist. Dialektisch (namentlich im Altschw.) tritt sonst häufig im Part. prät. Umlaut (*o* > *ø*, *é* > *ê*, usw.) ein, aber dieser Umlaut lässt sich als Folge entweder konsonantischen Einflusses oder nachträglicher Analogiewirkung und somit als jung erweisen (vgl. Kock, *ibid.*, S. 494 ff., *I. F.*, XXXIII, S. 339 ff.).

Noreens Erklärung der Adjektivformen (altschw. *upin*: *ypin* gegen altisl. *opinn*) lässt sich aber angesichts der Verhältnisse im Westgerm. kaum aufrecht erhalten. Im Nordgerm., sowohl wie im Westgerm., weisen die Tatsachen darauf hin, dass alte *-an*-Adj. öfters zu *-in*-Adj. geworden sind. In dieser Beziehung steht das Anglo-Friesische dem Nordgerm. am nächsten, indem im Anglo-Friesischen, ebenso wie im Nordgerm., altes *-an*-<sup>9</sup> der Adj. in *-e(i)n* übergegangen und demnach mit altem *-in*- und altem *-in*- lautlich zusammengefallen ist (d. h. *-e(i)n*); so z. B. urnord- urwestgerm. *\*op-an* — altisl. *op-i(e)nn*, ang. *op-en*; urgerm. *\*gulf-in* — got. *gulf-eins*, altn. *gull-i(e)nn*, ang. *gyld-en*, altfries. *geld-e(i)n* (mit *i*-Umlaut des *ū* zu *ē*); urgerm. *\*aig-in* — got. *aig-in* Subst., altn. *eig-i(e)nn*, ang. *æg-en* (neben *âg-en*).

Ebenso wie z. B. altfries. *epen* (das auf *\*up-in* zurückgehen muss) nach dem Muster z. B. von *gelden*, usw. ein *-in*-Adj. geworden ist, so lässt sich auch altschw. *upin*: *ypin* nach dem Muster z. B. von *gull-in*, usw. aus nachträglichem Zusammenfall eines ursprünglichen *-an*-Adj. mit den alten *-in*-Adj. erklären, die im Germ. von alter Zeit her zahlreich vertreten waren. Dass die Grundform dieses Adj. im Urnord- und Urwestgerm. *\*op-an* gewesen ist, lehrt nicht nur das im Altisl.<sup>10</sup> regelmässig vorliegende *op-i(e)nn* (mit *a*-Brechung), sondern auch der dem Altisl. entsprechende Vokalismus der übrigen westgerm. Sprachen (d. h. aller Dialekte ausser dem Altfriesischen), vgl. ahd. *off-an*, alts. *op-an*: *op-en*, ang. *op-en*. Die altschw.-altfries. Form, die jedenfalls auf *-in*- zurückgeht, darf man also als eine jüngere von der urnord-urwestgerm. Grundform abweichende Dialekt-eigenheit betrachten, zumal die altschw. und altfries. Laut- und Analogieneigungen einander sehr nahe lagen (vgl. Kock, "Vocalbalance im Altfriesischen," *Beitr.*, XXIX, S. 175 ff.).

Meiner Meinung nach ist Noreen der Nachweis nicht geglückt,

<sup>9</sup> Dass im Altn. auslautendes *-an* lautgesetzlich bleibt, zeigt z. B. die Form *sam-an* = got. *sam-an-a*, ahd. *sam-an-(i)*, *si-sam-an-e*, alts. *te-samne*. Bei Adj. auf *-an* dagegen ging das *-a* zunächst in Mittelsilben in *-e*- (später *-i*-) über und auf diesem Wege ersetzte das *-ē* / *-i* das ursprüngliche *-ā* auch in Endsilben (vgl. III).

<sup>10</sup> Im Altschw. liegt auch die Form *op-in* (mit *a*-Brechung) vor, vgl. Kock, "Zur Frage nach dem Suffix der Participia Passivi usw.," *I. F.*, XXXIII, S. 348.

dass in der adjektivischen Suffixsilbe *-i(e)n-* des Nordgerm. alte vorgermanische Abstufung (zwischen germ. *ǣ(i):ā*) vorliege, denn nachträglicher Zusammenfall der *-an*-Adj. mit den *-in-* und den *-in*-Adj. kann unumgelautete Formen neben umgelauteten Formen der betreffenden Adj. im Nordgerm. genügend erklären.

Hinsichtlich der Part. prät. der starken Verben ist Noreens Auffassung von vornherein bedenklich, indem es dabei noch immer unerklärt bleibt, weshalb die Ausgleichung zwischen altem *-in-* und altem *-an-* bei der I. Ablautsreihe (ohne *a*-Brechung) und bei denjenigen Part. prät. der VI. Ablautsreihe (mit *i*-Umlaut), deren Stammsilbe auf Palatallaut ausging, anders durchgeführt sein soll als bei den übrigen Ablautsreihen, wo die gleichen Verhältnisse (zwischen synkopierenden und nicht synkopierenden Kasus) herrschten, wie bei den oben erwähnten Ablautsreihen.

Da sich der Mangel der *a*-Brechung im Part. prät. der I. Ablautsreihe durch das gemeinnord- und westgerm. Gesetz der Ablautsharmonie erklären lässt, und da der Wandel des *ǣ* zu *ē* in der Stammsilbe des Part. prät. der VI. Ablautsreihe offenbar als jüngerer Palatalumlaut (oder jedenfalls als jüngere Entwicklung) anzusehen ist, so liegt kein Grund vor anzunehmen, dass in diesen Fällen dem *-i(e)n-* des Part. prät. altes *-in-* (neben *-an-*) zugrunde liege, wie dies Noreen tut. Und wenn in diesen Fällen kein *-in-* neben *-an-* vorauszusetzen ist, so ist um so weniger zwingend die Annahme, dass sonstwo im Part. prät. der starken Verben im Altn. altes *-in-* neben *-an-* dem *-i(e)n-* zugrunde liege.

Noreen sucht anscheinend für seine Theorie über die Suffixsilbe der Part. prät. der starken Verben eine Stütze in den Verhältnissen der Adj. auf *-i(e)n-*, aber es lassen sich im Nord- und Westgerm. die umgelauteten Formen der Adj. auf *-i(e)n* neben den unumgelauteten zum Teil ganz anders erklären, als die der Part. prät. der starken Verben (wo z. B. das Gesetz der Ablautsharmonie<sup>11</sup> in Betracht kommt). Die Tatsachen weisen darauf hin, dass die Verhältnisse im Adj. den Verhältnissen im Part. prät. nur insofern parallel sind, als altes *-an-* durch Schwächung in Mittelsilben zu *-en-* geworden ist, wobei Mischung mit dem

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. oben, Anm. 5.



alten adjektivischen Suffix *-in-* und dem alten subst.-adjektivischen Suffix *-in-* nahe lag. Dies wird aber erst klar, wenn man das nordgerm. *-in-: -en-* mit dem westgerm. *-an-: in-: -en-* im Part. prät. der starken Verben in Zusammenhang setzt.

II. Die Suffixsilbe *-AN-: -IN-: -EN-* im Part. prät. der starken Verben im Westgermanischen.

(a) *Althochdeutsch.*

Paul<sup>12</sup> führt zahlreiche Beispiele aus dem Ahd. an, wo im Part. prät. *-in-* neben *-an-* vorliegt, z. B. *gi-sceid-IN-êr*, *gi-halt-IN-u*, *gi-bor-IN-u* (Otfrid). Da aber dieses *-in-* niemals in Endsilben begegnet, und da weiter der Wurzelsilbe niemals durch den Vokal *i* der Suffixsilbe angegriffen wird, so handelt es sich hier offenbar nicht um altes *-in-*, sondern um nachträgliche Entwicklung des alten *-an-*, dessen *-a-* sonst häufig in Mittelsilben zu *-ê-* geschwächt ist, wie z. B. *quhoman: quhomenan* (Isidor), *gi-legan: gi-legenan* (Otfrid), usw. Ob nun das *-i-* in Mittelsilben (wie z. B. in *gi-halt-IN-u*) aus älterem *-ê-* (wie z. B. in *gi-leg-EN-an*) weiter geschwächt ist, oder schon auf Mischung mit der alten Adj.-Substantivendung *-in-* (= got. *-in-*, wie z. B. in *ful-IN-s* Adj., *aig-IN* Subst.) beruht, lässt sich schwer entscheiden. Jedenfalls lag bei der Endung *-en-* Mischung mit altem *-in-* und altem *-in-* (= got. *-ein-*, wie z. B. in *gulf-EIN-s* = ahd. *guld-in*) nahe, ebenso wie bei den Adj. *-e(i)n-* im Altnord. und im Anglo-Fries. (vgl. I).

(b) *Altsächsisch.*

Im Alts.<sup>13</sup> begegnet (und zwar auch in Endsilben) neben der Suffixsilbe *-an-* fast ebenso häufig die Suffixsilbe *-en-* und zuweilen auch *-in-*. In einigen Part. prät. (vgl. *ufgeslagenon Wer. Prud. Gl. 4<sup>a</sup>*, *forsêkenun Merseb. Gl. 103<sup>a</sup>*) scheint sogar *i*-Umlaut des Wurzelsilbenvokals vorzuliegen; jedoch lassen diese Formen auch eine anderweitige Deutung zu (vgl. unt. Fussn. 23).

<sup>12</sup> H. Paul, "Zur Geschichte des germanischen Vocalismus," *Beitr.*, VI, S. 239 f.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. Holthausen, *Alts. Grammatik*, § 419, Anm. 1; J. H. Gallée, "Zur alts. Grammatik; alts. Participia auf *-in-*," *Zfdph.*, XXIX, S. 145-149; *Alts. Grammatik*, § 47<sup>a</sup>, Anm. u. § 52<sup>b</sup>, Anm. 2.

Dass dieses *-en-* im Alts. aus altem *-an-* in Mittelsilben geschwächt ist, lehrt das Beispiel der Endung *-an-* der starken Adj. masc. sg., deren *-a-* in der längeren Form *-an-e* häufig zu *-e-* (d. h. *-en-e*) geworden ist, wobei das *-e-* analogisch auch in Endsilben (d. h. *-en-* statt *-an-* im Akk. masc. sg.) eingedrungen ist, z. B. *brêd-ene*, *hard-ene*, *wîd-ene* *Heliand* (M), 2120, 2362, 2881, daher *brêd-en*, *hard-en*, *wîd-en* neben *brêd-an*, *hard-an*, *wîd-an*.

Ebenso lässt sich die unflektierte Form der Adj. und der Subst. auf *-en-* neben *-an-* (vgl. *op-en*: *op-an*, *gam-en*: *gam-an*, *heβ-en*: *heβ-an*, *morg-en*: *morg-an*) als Analogiebildung<sup>14</sup> nach den flektierten Formen erklären, wo das ursprüngliche *-an-* in Mittelsilben zu *-en-* geschwächt war, wenn auch letzteres in einigen Fällen wegen der Apokopierung nicht mehr in Mittelsilben erhalten ist.

Bei den Part. præt. der starken Verben aber zeigen nach Schlüters<sup>15</sup> Ermittlung die flektierten Formen eine grössere Vorliebe für *-an-* als für *-en-*. Dieser Umstand lässt sich nur so erklären, dass gerade die flektierten Formen mit innerem *-e-*, von denen das *-en-* ausgegangen war, bis auf wenige Reste wieder beseitigt sind (vgl. Schlüter, *ibid.*, S. 251).

Wenn weiter die äusserst selten begegnenden Part. præt. auf *-in-* (vgl. *kum-in* *Heliand* (C), *githung-in*, *bismit-in*, *gefall-in* der *Genesis*) nicht als altfries., sondern als echt alts. Formen anzusehen sind,<sup>16</sup> so lässt sich das *-i-* im Alts., gerade wie im Ahd., entweder als weitere Schwächung des *-e-* in Mittelsilben oder schon als Mischung mit altem *-in-* und altem *-în-* erklären.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. O. Behaghel, "Zum Heliand und zur Heliandgrammatik," *Germania*, XXXI, S. 388 ff.

<sup>15</sup> W. Schlüter, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altsächsischen Sprache," I. Theil, "Die schwache Declination in der Sprache des Heliand und der kleineren as. Denkmäler," Göttingen, 1892, S. 232 f.

<sup>16</sup> Diese Part. præt. hält Gallée ("Alts. Participia auf *-in-*," *Zfdph.*, XXIX, S. 146 f.) gegen Kögel (Ergänzungsheft zu seiner Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur, S. 19) nicht für Frisonismen, sondern für echt alts. Formen, wofür er eine Stütze in den heutigen sächsischen Dialekten findet, die sowohl Formen auf *-in-* wie auf *-an-* aufweisen. Gallée nimmt aber ohne weiteres an, dass dieses *-in-* im Part. præt. auf altgerm. *-in-* zurückgehe, welches nach der von Paul aufgestellten Ansicht (*Beitr.*, VI, 239 ff.) schon in urgerm. Zeit neben *-an-* bestanden habe.

(c) *Anglo-Friesisch.*

Gegenüber dem im Alta. neben *-an-* begegnenden *-en-* herrscht im Angs. nur *-en-*, und im Altfries. entweder *-en-* oder *-in-* vor; also im Anglo-Fries.<sup>17</sup> kein *-an-* neben *-i(e)n-*, ebenso wie im Nordgerm.

In den alten ang. Denkmälern aber, die noch zwischen *æ* (= altgerm. *a*) und *i* scheiden, erscheint diese Endung als *-in-* sowohl wie als *-æn-*. Es gehören hierher z. B. neben den Formen *gib-ÆN* (= got. *gib-ans*), *âsolc-ÆN*, usw. auch die beiden Formen *binum-IN-i* (= got. *binum-an-*) und *forleg-IN-um* (= got. *-lig-an-*) des alten *Epinaler Glossars*.<sup>18</sup> Diese Verhältnisse im Altangs. stehen mit den Verhältnissen im Ahd. in auffälligem Einklang, indem in beiden Fällen das *-in-* nur in Mittelsilben, das *-æn-* (= altangs. *-æn-*) dagegen sowohl in Endsilben wie auch in Mittelsilben begegnet. Die Frage liegt also nahe, ob das nur in Mittelsilben vorliegende *-in-* der beiden Sprachen etwa aus älterem *-ǣ-* weiter geschwächt sei, oder schon auf Mischung mit den alten Adjektivendungen *-in-* und *-in-* beruhe.

Im Altfries., wo *-in-* neben *-en-* begegnet, beruht nach Kocks<sup>19</sup> Nachweis das Verhältnis zwischen dem *-i-* und dem *-e-* der Suffixsilbe in Endsilben auf dem Gesetze der 'Vokalbalance.' Da dieses *-i(e)n-* des Altfries. nicht von dem *-in-* des Altangs. zu trennen ist, so liegt der Schluss nahe, dass die Endung *-i(e)n-* im Altfries., gerade wie das *-in-* im Altangs., aus ursprünglichem *-an-* in Mittelsilben entstanden ist.

Es scheint mir also (nach dem Zeugnis des Altangs. und des Ahd.) die Annahme völlig berechtigt zu sein, dass das *-i(e)n-* der Part. prät. der starken Verben im Westgerm. nicht auf

<sup>17</sup> Im Angs. tritt nur dialektisch bisweilen *-an-* auf (vgl. Sievers, *Angs. Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 366, 2) und im Altfries. ist das äusserst seltene Part. prät. auf *-an-* wohl nur als eine andere Schreibart für *-en-* anzusehen, da zwischen dem tonlosen *-e-* und dem tonlosen *-a-* kein bedeutender Unterschied gehört wurde (vgl. van Helten, *Altostfries. Grammatik*, § 56, Anm., § 65, Anm., § 284).

<sup>18</sup> Von Sievers, *Angs. Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 366, Anm. 2, angeführt, und eingehend untersucht in *Beitr.*, VIII, S. 324 ff.

<sup>19</sup> A. Kock, "Vokalbalance im Altfriesischen," *Beitr.*, XXIX, S. 175 ff., auch van Helten, *ibid.*, XXXII, S. 517 ff.

altes *-in-* zurückzuführen, sondern als nachträgliche Schwächung aus ursprünglichem *-an-* in Mittelsilben zu erklären sei.

III. *Das gegenseitige Verhältnis des Nordgermanischen und Westgermanischen bei der Suffixsilbe -I(E)N- im Part. prät. der starken Verben.*

Auf demselben Wege wie im Westgerm. kann auch im Nordgerm. die Suffixsilbe *-i(e)n-* erklärt werden, d. h. aus nachträglicher Schwächung des alten *-a-* (*-an-*) in Mittelsilben zu *-e-* (*-en-*, später *-in-*). Dass sich dagegen im Nord- und Westgerm. ein *-a-* in Endsilben vor einfachem *n* hielt, beweist schon z. B. die Form des Inf. *binda(n)* (vgl. über *\*op-an-*, Fussn. 9). Demnach ging wohl ursprünglich (d. h. im Urnord-Urwestgerm.) die unflektierte Form des Part. prät. auf *-an* aus, z. B. *\*bund-an*. In Mittelsilben dagegen wurde das *-a-* stärker angegriffen und ging demnach in dieser Stellung in *-e-* (später *-i-*) über,<sup>20</sup> wie z. B. Gen. pl. *\*bund-AN-ra* > *\*bund-EN-ra* = altn. *bundenna*, angs. *bundenra*. Die unflektierte Form des Part. prät. (*\*bund-an-*) ist aber im Altn.-Anglo-Fries. später ganz ausgestorben, d. h. auf dem Wege der Analogie durch den Vokal der Mittelsilben ersetzt, so dass die Endung jetzt überall ein *-e-* oder ein *-i-* aufweist. Vielleicht hat bei dieser Ausgleichung das Bestreben mitgewirkt, den Endungsvokal des Part. prät. deutlich von dem des Inf. zu unterscheiden.

Ferner teilt das Part. prät. bei den Verben der I.-III. Ablautsreihe, und somit bei den meisten ablautenden Verben (denn der IV. und V. Ablautsreihe gehören nur wenige Verben an) den Stammvokal des Prät. plur. und des Opt. prät. Der Optativ zeigt in den Endungen überall ausser im 1. Sg. (= got. *-jau*) den Vokal *i*. Diesen auf die Endung des Part. prät. zu übertragen lag nahe, zumal es im Germ. von alter Zeit her zahlreiche Adj. auf *-in-* gab, mit denen das Part. nach Endung und Flexion identisch ist (vgl. über *\*op-an*: *\*up-in*, I). Dass im Altfries.

<sup>20</sup>Für das Altn. stellt Kock ("Der A-Umlaut in den altnord. Sprachen," Beitr., XXIII, S. 490 f.) die folgende Regel für den Wandel des *a* zu *-e-* auf: "*a* ist in infortissilbe vor *n* + consonant in *e* (später *i*) übergegangen." Diesen Wandel betrachtet Kock also als Palatalisierung des *a* vor *n* + Kons., die aber nur in Infortissilben (d. h. nicht in Fortis- oder Semifortissilben) eingetreten sei. Auch Endsilben, wie z. B. Nom. sg. masc. *\*bund-an-a* > *\*bund-ann* > *bund-enn*, glaubt er mit dieser Regel erklären zu können.

der Vokal der Optativendung auf die Endung des Part. prät. übertragen war, ist um so wahrscheinlicher, als die Verben, deren Stammvokal auf Guttural auslautet, vor dem -e- meist den zugehörigen Palatal<sup>21</sup> zeigen, wie z. B.

- I. Reihe, *strika* Inf., *stri(t)zen* Part. prät.
- II. Reihe, *bi-lûka* Inf., *bi-letsen*, *bi-lezen* (neben *bi-leken*) Part. prät.
- III. Reihe, *breka*, Inf. *bretzen* (neben *breken*) Part. prät.
- IV. Reihe, *spreka*, Inf. *spretzen*, *spreetzen* Part. prät.

Die Palatalisierung bliebe unerklärlich, wenn hier westgerm. -an- im Part. prät. zugrunde läge. Der -i-Umlaut (vgl. z. B. *bi-letsen* aus älterem \**bi-lytsen* < \**bi-luts-in*) beweist schon, dass hier dem -en- ein früheres \*-in- zugrunde liegen muss. Dass dieses \*-in- aber nicht auf altes -in- zurückzuführen ist, sondern aus den Optativformen auf das Part. prät. übertragen war,<sup>22</sup> lehren die Formen der Part. prät., welche ihren Wurzelsvokal zu Gunsten des Wurzelsvokals des Opt. prät. aufgegeben haben, wie z. B. die neben *sprecen* belegte Form *spraecen*, deren *ae* nur aus dem Opt. prät. erklärt werden kann (vgl. 3. Pers. sg. westgerm. \**sprêki* = as. *sprâki*, ahd. *sprâhi*, nhd. *spräche*). Da die altfries. Formen des Part. prät. augenscheinlich auf nachträglicher Angleichung der Endung des Part. prät. an die Endung des Opt. prät. beruhen, darf man annehmen, dass die Suffixsilbe -en- der altfries. Part. prät. noch jüngeren Datums als das gemeinnord- und westgerm. -en- ist. Ferner lag bei der Endung -en- Mischung mit altem -in- und altem -în- nahe. Diese Mischung kann dann das Eindringen von umgelauteten Formen aus dem Opt. prät. in das Part. prät. im Angs. und im Altfr. erleichtert

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. C. Günther, *Die Verba im Altfr. ischen*, Leipzig, 1880, S. 8, 17, 20 f.; van Helten, *Altostfriesische Grammatik*, Leeuwarden, 1890, S. 205 f.; Siebs in Pauls Grundriss<sup>2</sup> I, 1306 ff.; Heuser, *Altfr. Lesebuch* (Streitbergs Sammlung Germ. Elementarbücher III, 1) S. 31 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Ebenso erklärt Gallée ("Alts. Part. auf -in," *Zfdph.*, XXIX, S. 146 f.) den umgelauteten Stammvokal (z. B. *ô*, *ô*, *do*) des Part. prät. im heutigen Sächsischen (d. h. in der Sprache der Landschaft *Twenste* im südöstlichen Teil der holländischen Provinz *Overyssel*) zum Teil als Übertragung aus dem Opt. prät.: "Bei einigen (part. prät.) kann der Umlaut des praet. indic., das den Umlaut aus dem optativ übernommen hat, die Umbildung veranlasst haben, z. B. *helpen* prt. ind. *hölþ*, plur. *hölþen*, partic. *ê-hölþen*" (ibid., S. 147).

haben, z. b. angs.-altfries. *-slege(i)n*<sup>23</sup> (neben *-slagen*), angs.-*-cymen* (neben *-cumen*), altfries. *-kemi(e)n* (neben *-komen*) der VI. und IV. Ablautsreihe. Hier beruht der *i*-Umlaut nicht auf altem *-in-*, sondern auf dem jüngeren anglo-fries. *-in-*, das unter Mitwirkung von altem *-in-* und altem *-in-* von denjenigen Ablautsreihen (I.-III.) ausgegangen ist, wo das Part. prät. mit dem Opt. prät. den gleichen Stammvokal teilt.

Der *i*-Umlaut im Part. prät. der starken Verben im Westgerm. beweist also nichts für altes *-in-*, und im Nordgerm. (namentlich im Altschw.) lässt sich der *i*-Umlaut gleichfalls aus nachträglichen Einflüssen erklären (vgl. Fussn. 8).

Die Schwächung des ursprünglichen *-an-* zu *-en-* in Mittelsilben bezeugen für das Westgerm. das Altangs. des *Epinaler Glossars* und das Ahd. Ob nun im Nordgerm. das *-a-* vor *n* + Kons. durch Palatalisierung auch in Endsilben lautgesetzlich zu *-e-* geworden ist (wie z. B. Nom. sg. masc. *\*bund-an-e* > *\*bund-ann* > *bund-enn*), wie dies Kock annimmt (*Beitr.*, XXIII, S. 490 f., vgl. Fussn. 20), lässt sich schwer entscheiden.<sup>24</sup> Jedenfalls ist in Mittelsilben ursprüngliches *-an-* im Nordgerm., gerade wie im Anglo-Fries., zu *-en-* geschwächt. Wenn also Kocks Annahme richtig ist, so könnte das *-e-* der Mittelsilben das *-e-* der Endsilben noch weiter begünstigt haben, so dass schliesslich im Nordgerm., ebenso wie im Anglo-Fries., die Suffixform überall ein *-e-* (später *-i-*) erhielt.

<sup>23</sup> Wenn das *uf-ge-sleg-en-on* der *Werd. Prud. Glossen* und das *for-sek-en-un* der *Morseb. Glossen* als echt alts. Formen zu gelten haben, wie Gallée (*Zfdph.*, XXIX, S. 146 f.) meint, ist der *i*-Umlaut sehr auffallend, da das Alts. sonst im Part. prät. keinen *i*-Umlaut aufweist; im *Heliand* liegen immer die unumgelauteten Formen vor (d. h. *ge-slag-a(e)n*, *forsak-a(e)n*). Demnach wird das *e* der Wurzelsilbe eher als friesisches *e* = asächs. *a* aufzufassen sein, wie z. B. in afries. *seke* = as. *saka* = ahd. *sahha*. Für die Existenz eines altgerm. *-in-* neben *-an-* im Part. prät. der starken Verben bieten diese beiden Partizipien also eine noch schwächere Stütze als die umgelauteten Formen im Anglo-Friesischen.

<sup>24</sup> Über den nordgerm.-anglo-fries. Übergang des *-a-* in Endsilben in *-e-* vgl. H. Collitz, "Die Behandlung des ursprünglich auslautenden *ai* im Got., Althochd. und Altsächs.," *B. B.*, XVII, 1 ff. Diesen Übergang hält Professor Collitz nicht für eine eigentliche Palatalisierung, sondern eher für Schwächung, d. h. unvollkommene Bildung mit zurückgezogener Zunge.



Diese Erklärung des nord- und westgerm. *-en/-in* aus altem *-an-* steht nicht mit den vorliegenden Tatsachen (namentlich mit den Verhältnissen im got. Part. prät., vgl. über got. *fulgins*, Fussn. 2) in Widerspruch, wie dies bei der herkömmlichen Ansicht über vorgerm. und altgerm. Stammabstufung (zwischen germ. *ǣ(i)* und *ā*) der Fall ist. Wenn dagegen Pauls Gesichtspunkt (von dem alle Sprachforscher bisher ausgegangen sind) richtig ist, so bleibt noch immer unerklärt, weshalb das *-in-* erst in jüngerer Zeit (d. h. nicht im Got.) als Partizipialsuffix erscheint. Diese Schwierigkeit ist aber überwunden, wenn man annimmt, dass das *-in-* im Part. prät. des Nord- und Westgerm. *nicht auf altes -IN- zurückgeht, sondern erst nachträglich aus altem -AN- entwickelt worden ist.* Diese nachträgliche Entwicklung (d. h. Schwächung des *-a-* zu *-e-* in Mittelsilben) zeigt sich schon im Altangs. und im Ahd., ist aber erst später im Altn.-Angs.-Altfries. durchweg vollzogen worden, so dass hier das ursprüngliche *-a-* überall durch das jüngere *-e-* ersetzt worden ist. Im Alts.-Ahd. dagegen herrschen die beiden Vokale (*a* und *e*) noch immer neben einander und zwar viel häufiger im Alts., das dem Anglo-Fries. näher lag, als im Ahd. Das Nebeneinanderliegen von *-an-* und *-en-* im *M* des *Heliand* geht z. B. dem Gegensatz zwischen unflektiertem *-an-* und flektiertem *-en-* (freilich neben *-an-*) bei Isidor und Otfrid im Ahd. parallel, nur dass im Alts. das ursprünglich flektierte *-en-* auch in Endsilben eingedrungen ist, während im Ahd. die lautgerechte Form des Suffixes sich in Endsilben noch immer unverändert hielt. Letzterer Umstand erklärt sich daraus, dass im Ahd. die Schwächung des ursprünglichen *-an-* zu *-e(i)n* in Mittelsilben (d. h. bei flektierten Formen) noch nicht so weit fortgeschritten war als im Alts.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT.

KANSAS UNIVERSITY.

### III.—PLATO'S HEDONISM.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.

The doctrine of hedonism is in bad odor. It is a little strange, however, that any of that bad odor should attach to Plato, from whom we get our first clear statement of a doctrine to which one might apply that name. Even people who read Plato himself, and not a translation or betrayal of him, have read him carelessly. That is indeed easy to do. Although most of his pages are clear as daylight, and notably so the great and inspiring pages that ring like an anticipation of Christianity—which are at least in harmony with the highest ethics of Christianity—yet sometimes, at critical points, he delights in an unexpected turn which the unwary or the unsympathetic might mistake. And on this one point even good Platonists have gone astray, attributing to him at an early stage of his philosophic life a doctrine which they agree that he soon rose above. But in fact he never held any doctrine that we nowadays call hedonism. Only a superficial reader can find it in the Protagoras, where alone any hint of it is found. Whatever later hedonism may be, Plato's brand of it is a fine declaration, in the peculiar manner of the Platonic Sokrates—probably of the historic Sokrates as well—of Plato's faith in the high origin and high destiny of man. It is worth while to make this clear. Those who have really understood Plato have had no doubt about it.

First we have to examine those passages of the Protagoras that equate the pleasant with the good. The starting-point is the place (351c) where Sokrates asks, "In so far as things are pleasant (ἡδύα), are they not in so far good, unless something else results from them? In like manner, conversely, painful things—are they not bad in so far as they are painful?" To which Protagoras makes the fine reply which shows that Plato was well aware how open to misunderstanding the doctrine is, "I do not know, Sokrates, whether I can venture to assert in that unqualified manner that the pleasant is good and the painful

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the author's untimely death, this paper did not have the benefit of his final revision.—Ed.

evil. Having regard not only to my present answer but also to my whole life, I shall be safer, if I am not mistaken, in saying that there are some pleasant things which are not good, and some painful things which are not evil, and that there are some which are neither good nor evil." The Platonic Protagoras, no less than the Platonic Sokrates, is the mouthpiece of Plato. He is here warning us to observe accurately his distinctions and qualifications and exact use of terms. This is emphasized in what follows. Pleasure in itself, he explains, is not evil, but good. When pleasant things are evil, they are so because they are found to result in pain of one kind or another, like disease or poverty, or to deprive of pleasure. So also when painful things are good, like military campaigns or the cutting and cautery of the surgeon, they are so because they result in pleasure that surpasses the pain, or because they at least remove or lessen the pain.

If now the analysis went no farther than this it would be superficial enough. But this is only the beginning. And before taking up the farther and more penetrating steps in the analysis we must remind ourselves that the Protagoras is an early composition. Not only the *Philebus* is many years in the future, and its keen discussion of pleasure undreamt of, but the *Republic* and the *Gorgias* are unwritten. We shall have to consider later whether the doctrines there developed invalidate or withdraw positions taken in the *Protagoras*. But for the present those dialogues are non-existent; we are concerned with the *Protagoras* alone. And we must farther note in what sense Plato is employing here the terms pleasure and pain, especially the former.

To come at once to the point, the context makes it quite clear that he is using these terms in their widest possible application, expressly including the highest kind of pleasure and purely spiritual pain. This is placed beyond question by the synonyms and the illustrations employed. Prodikos, it is true, is made (in 337c) to insist on distinguishing *ἡδοναί* from *εὐπαίεσθαι*, applying the latter to the mental and moral pleasures, restricting the former to pleasures of the senses. And this falls in with an unmistakable tendency of usage. Only, like other pedants, Prodikos would make a hard and fast rule of what is in fact only a tendency, that never submits to restriction. Sokrates treats Prodikos with great formal respect, here and in allusions to him in other dialogues, in spite of his good-natured irony and

his little traps for the famous teacher's foibles. There was indeed a basis for his repeated claims that he was a grateful pupil of Prodikos, who laid great stress on the accurate distinction of synonyms. That this easily ran into pedantry, as it does nowadays, does not alter the fact that it was right in line with the Sokratic insistence on definition. Discrimination in the use of terms is one phase of the same principle. But it is a superficial phase, touching only words, the conventional signs. Plato and Sokrates went below the outward signs to realities. To emphasize this, to make manifest that what they care for is the thought, Plato is fond of using in close connection many synonyms, all that are available, to put his meaning in all its breadth beyond dispute. Any of these terms will serve, he intimates, and often says: I am not insisting on a word, but on the thing itself which we designate, according to circumstances, by all these terms.

So here. The ordinary word for pleasure in the broadest sense is ἡδονή, for 'pleasant' is ἡδύς; the verb is ἡδεσθαι, 'be pleased.' But χαίρειν 'rejoice' is a synonym in 354cd:—"Since even τὸ χαίρειν you call evil when it deprives of greater pleasure than it affords, or causes greater pains than its own pleasures. If you call τὸ χαίρειν itself evil on any other standard and with a view to any other end, you could point out that standard; but that you cannot do." But χαίρειν, like our equivalent 'rejoice,' though very broad in its range, distinctly suggests an emotional or mental state, not one of the body. Again in 358a χαρτόν 'joyful' and τερπνόν 'delightful' are synonyms for ἡδύς: "You agree then that the pleasant is good, the painful (ἀναιρόν) bad. And I beg our friend Prodikos not to make here his distinctions of words; whether you call it ἡδύ or τερπνόν or χαρτόν, or however you are pleased (χαίρεις) to name such things, most excellent Prodikos, please answer in my sense of the words." Nothing could more clearly indicate refusal to allow any narrowing of that wide range of meaning which the words accept and his doctrine demands. Nor need we go beyond the same composition for uses of the suspected root ἡδ- in the wider sense. When Sokrates and his young friend arrived at the house of Kallias, Sokrates says: "It was delightful to see (ἡσθην ἰδών) this band, how beautifully they took care, like a trained chorus, never to get in front of

Protagoras." In 347b occurs the ordinary polite formula, "I leave to Protagoras whichever is more agreeable to him (*ἥδιον*); and two lines below, "I should like to finish (*ἡδέως ἂν ἐπὶ τέλος ἔλθοιμι*) the investigation along with you." This is of course ordinary Greek usage.

And we may recall here the striking passage in the *Nikomachean Ethics* (1151 b 18 ff.) where Aristotle also employs *ἡδονή* in its best sense. "Some people," he says, "fail to abide by a resolution for other reasons than lack of moral force (*οὐ δ' ἀκρασίαν*), as Neoptolemos in the *Philoktetes* of Sophokles. Yet it was pleasure that led him to change (*δὲ ἡδονὴν οὐκ ἐνέμεινεν*), but a noble pleasure (*ἀλλὰ καλὴν*). His sense of honor bade him remain true; he had been persuaded by Odysseus to be false. Not every one who is impelled by pleasure to an action is either wanton or bad or lacking in self-control, but he who is impelled by an unseemly pleasure." The phrasing is of Aristotelian conciseness. Neoptolemos, he means, could not endure the spiritual pain involved in retaining the bow of Herakles, obtained from the trusting *Philoktetes* by lies, and in violating his promise to take the sufferer home. He chose rather to break his previous resolution, restore the bow, keep his promise to take *Philoktetes* home, brave the anger of Odysseus and the whole Greek army, resign all ambition and the hope of rivaling the fame of his father Achilles, and return quietly to an inglorious life in his little island. The pleasure of remaining true, of keeping his honor clean, outweighed all else. That was a kind of pleasure that Plato expressly included under *ἡδονή*. The Aristotelian author of the seventh book of the *Ethics* even uses *ἡδονή* of God. "Wherefore," he says, "God ever enjoys a *ἡδονή* that is one and simple (*μίαν καὶ ἀπλὴν*, VII, 14, 8).

The illustrations of Plato's argument point the same way. Surgical operations, before anesthetics were known, were the readiest examples of pains endured, and chosen as good, because they were expected to restore health, or at least relieve pain and avert suffering. In such cases we have to do primarily with pains and pleasure of a bodily nature. Gymnastic training in general is largely in the same class, but not altogether. It looks also, in Greek practise especially, toward efficient service in war, where the pains and deprivations are bodily and the satisfactions and pleasures mainly of another sort. In the passage where

these are grouped with medical treatment and surgery and hunger-cures (354ab) the compensating pleasures include not only health, but also, from war, the safety of states, rule over others, and wealth. Now, however we may look upon wealth—individual or national—and rule over others as examples of satisfactions resulting from painful military service, the defense of one's country cannot be classed as ignoble. The satisfaction of knowing that one's efforts and deprivations have contributed to its safety is recognized as one of the purest. When Plato includes that as one of the pleasures that make pain a good, no one can fancy that his notion of pleasure is low. When taken with the context, it is clear that—though self-sacrifice became a common term only under Christianity—Plato includes also the high moral pleasure of feeling that life is sacrificed for others, even if life is lost in an attempt that fails. So Demosthenes two generations later carried his Athenian jury with him, when he declared that Athens could not have done otherwise had they all known beforehand that in the struggle for freedom they would be defeated. The satisfaction of having made the struggle outweighed even the pains of defeat.

Finally we reach, near the close of the discussion (in 360a) a broad generalization. It has been agreed that what is honorable or beautiful (*καλόν*) is also good, that *καλαὶ πράξεις* are all good. It is now further agreed that whatever is honorable and good is also pleasant (*ἡδύ*). That is a seemingly easy step in the argument, but one which carries with it an assertion of profound significance. If whatever is morally good is intrinsically pleasant to normal human nature, then that nature is intrinsically good. Plato holds firmly from beginning to end that the human soul is by nature good and greets all good as akin to itself. The immediate application at this point of the dialogue is this: The brave man going into war, when that is an honorable and good action, knows that he is going to what is fairer and better and also pleasanter. The pleasure involved can be only of the highest and finest moral kind, the satisfaction of what we call doing one's duty—enduring hardship, risking and losing life, for one's country. To complete the argument here we must take up another side of the matter. At the present moment this, however, is clear, that whatever Plato's hedonism may be, it does not involve any low conception of *ἡδονή*.

## II.

During much of the composition Sokrates is maintaining that the virtues reduce mainly to an intellectual principle, to different applications of knowledge. We are not concerned for the moment to defend that thesis in its full extent, but only to show its relation to Platonic hedonism, that we may better understand the latter. It is a fact of life, Sokrates maintains, that men in general pursue pleasure as good—pleasure undefined and unanalyzed, but taken in the broadest sense—and shun pain, equally undefined and unanalyzed, but taken not less broadly, as evil. Men estimate actions by their results in pleasures and pains of all sorts. According to the preponderance of one or the other, actions are classed as good or bad, that is, treated as normal or unsound. In the Republic also Sokrates argues (357b) that anything is good which we should choose for its own sake and not out of desire for results to flow from it, as τὸ χαίρειν and pleasures that are harmless and give rise to nothing else in the future except χαίρειν. Again (Rep. 505b) Sokrates says, "But surely you know this, that most people regard pleasure, the more pretentious regard intelligence (φρόνησις), as the good." Here we have a plain suggestion of the dispute which is the starting-point of the Philebus, but we have also a reiteration of the statement that pleasure, to the mass of mankind, is the standard of the good. As a practical rule of life, therefore, we may say Sokrates admits, at least does not treat as unreasonable, that popular standard.

One application of it is political utilitarianism, the greatest good of the greatest number as a standard of political action. This is an application, however, which Plato nowhere makes. What we now call egoistic hedonism, enlightened choice of what will in the end be for one's own advantage, is another application, which again Plato does not make, and which involves a subtle distortion of Plato's meaning. For both of these applications, as they have been adopted and advocated, inevitably lay the main stress on material advantages, on the good of the body. The name utilitarianism distinctly implies that. As a principle of political action, if we confine the sphere of the state to this life, as most of us do, utilitarianism may be defended as a good



practical rule. It is only as a standard of morality that the bad repute of hedonism attaches to it. Now when we admit that Sokrates accepts pleasure and pain as the measure of good and evil in morals, we must, if we would avoid gross injustice, attend carefully to the farther development of what Plato means in the *Protagoras* by pleasure and pain. Nowhere more than in Plato do we need to observe the exact form and setting of words.

What do men mean when they say that one does evil knowingly, because overcome by a desire for pleasure? It is in analyzing this case that Sokrates develops his idea that the virtues are forms of knowledge. Admitting that the preliminaries of his analysis are long and repetitious he says (354e and following): "Pardon me; in the first place, it isn't easy to show just what that is which you call being overcome by pleasure, and, secondly, all my demonstration rests on that. If you accept pleasure and pain as good and evil respectively, then I say it is ridiculous to assert that often, while recognizing evils as evils, one nevertheless does them, when it is in one's power to refrain, because impelled by pleasure; and again, that while recognizing the good the man is unwilling to do it because overcome by the immediate pleasure." To make this plain he substitutes good for pleasure in the one formula and painful for bad in the other. The former then becomes: One does evil, while recognizing the evil, because overcome by good. That can have no meaning but this, that one chooses evil, recognizing the evil, because of good connected with it, quite oblivious of the fact that the good which attracted is less than the evil which was recognized. Similarly the other formula becomes: One does painful things, recognizing that they are painful, because overcome by the pleasant things therewith connected, not recognizing that the pleasures are outweighed by the pains. Parenthetically it should be noted that the word I render "while recognizing" is *γινώσκων*, the present participle, in the place of greatest emphasis. That lays stress on the contemporaneousness of intellectual perception with the act of choice; this has a bearing on the Socratic doctrine of virtue as a form of knowledge.

Now when the formulas are put in these terms it becomes clear that the wrong choice is made because one misjudges amounts and degrees of pleasures and pains. What one needs therefore is the ability to measure such things rightly. The

metaphor ignores differences of kind; the whole discussion leaves those differences unnamed. This can only be intentional; no one was more conscious of those differences than Plato, and the immeasurable difference in kind between pleasures of the body and the moral and spiritual satisfaction is plainly in his mind all the while, not a whit less than in the *Gorgias*. But for the moment he seems to reduce all sorts of pleasures and pains to a purely quantitative standard. His art of measuring (*μετρητική*), on which depends all our safety and happiness, is the power of recognizing, under all disguises and all illusions of sense, the true and permanent values in the realm of pleasures and pains. To one who has this art in perfection a pleasure near at hand will not, because it is near and therefore looks larger, be taken as larger, a pain or pleasure that is far in the future will not therefore be deemed less.

Why, one asks, did Plato here ignore those differences of kind which were as plain to him as to us? The answer, I think, is twofold, and has been partly suggested. First, the unity of class implied in the common class-names, is a reality of human feeling, in which language is rooted. Beauty offers a parallel case. We speak of a beautiful face or a beautiful landscape, and also of beautiful music and beautiful character. We recognize a fundamental likeness in spite of the differences in kind of beauty, which are in fact as wide as the differences in the kinds of pleasure. Language was made by ordinary people and corresponds to popular psychology. Plato is for the moment accepting the ordinary view as embodied in common speech. The word pleasure designates the feeling with which human nature, body or soul or both combined, welcomes what satisfies a need or desire. The range of the word is wide because body and soul are unlike and each has many needs and desires. Besides, both are liable to aberrations. We may say truly enough that the aberrations are themselves natural, disturbances to which our infinitely complex nature is prone; but we still regard them as aberrations, departures from a condition that we recognize as more fundamentally natural and normal—a condition of health, bodily or spiritual. Pleasures that correspond to conditions of health are alone good, and are by themselves of endless variety.

Von Arnim is of opinion (*Platos Jugenddialoge*, pp. 13 f.)

that the entire hedonistic theory as here set forth is taken from some other philosopher, and the "art of measurement" is Plato's addition, made with a satirical aim, to reveal the hollowness of the theory. But von Arnim cannot name the philosopher, even by conjecture; and he overlooks the passage from the Republic (505b) before cited, which attributes the theory to the general public, "most people," not to a philosopher or a school. Does it not satisfy all the conditions better to suppose that Plato here accepts the popular view for the express purpose of giving it an unexpected turn? A certain irony, of the genuine Sokratic kind, is unmistakable; to speak of it as satirical, aimed at an opposing philosopher, is beyond the mark. Secondly, the unity of class embodied in the class-name, pleasure, corresponds, I venture to believe, to the facts of our ordinary life. We do not, in making the choice we call moral, consciously say to ourselves, "This pleasure is of a higher kind than that, and therefore I choose it." Surely in all but extraordinary cases what one feels is simply, "This pleasure is the one I prefer," or, "This pain is the greater; better the other." To speak even of magnitude or number is figurative; preference is all one thinks of. The art of measurement is a purely figurative expression; it is the art of making the right choice; there is no real weighing or counting or measuring. States of feeling—acts regarded as leading to states of feeling—are the sole objects of moral choice. Whether these be bodily sensations, whatever those are, or psychic states, whatever those are, we cannot literally weigh or measure or count them. I cannot believe that Plato thought we do. But the figure is accurate enough for the purpose, fairly descriptive of what we actually do—choose, with little or no reference to differences of kind.

Similarly Aristotle (Ethics 1105a 3 ff.) says *κανονίζομεν δὲ καὶ τὰς πράξεις, οἱ μὲν μᾶλλον, οἱ δ' ἥττον, ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ*, 'We regulate our actions, some of us more and some less, by pleasure and pain.' This cool and dispassionate observer of life agrees with Plato, the philosophical enthusiast, in representing this as the ordinary practise of humanity. That is why, he says, his whole treatise is concerned with pleasures and pains. People need to be habituated from childhood to make good choices; then gradually they may come to understand why the choices

prescribed are good, and may find their pleasure there. Nor is it in essence untrue to fact to describe making a wrong choice in Plato's terms. At the moment of choosing one estimates wrongly in pleasures and pains the consequences of the act. No one, says Sokrates, while recognizing (*γινώσκων*) the truth, chooses evil—that is, pain—when he may choose pleasure—that is the good. The wrong choice proceeds from a failure to recognize, at the moment of choosing, the facts. That is assuredly a form of ignorance or *ἀμαθία*. At best it is forgetting, under the influence of emotion, what one had previously learned. It is like the schoolboy, who knows it, but has forgotten. And to forget is to lose, for the moment at least, what one previously knew. As Plato puts it in the *Phædo* (75d), "To know is this, to get knowledge of something and then hold it and not have lost it. Isn't what we call forgetting loss of knowledge?" What is needed is the power to hold, without an instant's failure of perception, what one clearly perceived before this present disturbance of mental vision came on.

Now we all recognize that this form of moral ignorance or forgetting has something peculiar about it, something that differentiates it from purely intellectual, unemotional ignorance or forgetting. The Sokratic description of it is paradoxical—contrary to our common feeling and common use of the words. Therein lies the piquancy of it, the Sokratic sting, that stimulates thought. And Plato clearly recognizes that the knowledge needed for right choice, this art of measurement, is a peculiar art and knowledge. "What this art is and this knowledge," he says in 357b, "we will examine another time." He thus admits that farther elucidation is needed; the method of learning and teaching this kind of knowledge is not so simple as for geometry. Later in life, in the discussion of education in the *Laws*, he recognizes, as clearly as Aristotle after him, the importance of habituation for this purpose. In the *Timæus* too (86de) he speaks of incontinence in sensual pleasures as a disease of the soul arising from a condition of the body. "No one is willingly wicked, but it is owing to a bad condition of the body and unenlightened nurture that the wicked man becomes wicked, and these are always unwelcome and imposed against his will." After a few words about other ways in which the soul derives

evil from the body, with the farther influence of bad government and bad public example and the lack of curative studies in early life, he adds (87b): "The blame must lie rather with the progenitors than with the progeny, with the educator rather than the educated; however, we must use our utmost zeal by nurture, by pursuits, and by studies, to shun vice and embrace the opposite. This subject belongs, however, to a different branch of inquiry." In the Protagoras itself, however, we find nothing distinct on this point, beyond the admission that farther analysis is needed.

But when he proceeds to describe courage as the knowledge of what is really to be feared and what is not, we see that he fully comprehends the complexity of his "art of measurement." What action in the face of danger really yields the greatest pleasure, the least pain? The coward thinks of death as the worst of evils, depriving one of all the pleasures of life; he fails to estimate at its true value the immeasurably greater happiness that a noble death may yield. The brave man knows that the moral satisfaction of fighting for one's country in a righteous cause is a pleasure that far outweighs the pains of war, including wounds and death, and even defeat of the righteous cause for which he dies. This "art of measurement turns out to be nothing less than acceptance into one's being, complete and unswerving acceptance, of one's place in the kosmos, as Plato conceived that kosmos." Plato's "art of measurement" therefore rests upon the tacit assumption of doctrines that are expressly developed in the Phædo, Republic, Phædrus, and Timæus. For him soul is immortal, the human soul a portion of the world-soul—"of no earthly, but of heavenly growth" (Tim. 90a). All nature is akin; the All is one, the self-evolution of Eternal Mind, who is absolute Good. Being thus divine by nature, the soul welcomes the good, the divine, as its native element, and by nature aspires to the best. "We must needs love the highest when we see it." It is indeed capable, through wrong choices, joined as it is with an earthly body, of falling to a lower scale, of "losing its wings" and ceasing to aspire. But that is unhappiness, is contrary to its nature, is its worst pain. Its greatest pleasure is in choosing the best, in likening itself to God, so far as it can, by becoming *δίκαιον καὶ ὀσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως* (Theaet. 176b). That "art of measurement" consists in recognizing constantly, in never forgetting, this fact of the soul's nature, and in living most fully

in accordance therewith. From beginning to end, as I said, this is the basis of Plato's ethical doctrine.

The hedonism of the Protagoras is unintelligible, self-contradictory, unless we assume this underlying belief. Taking a popular principle of action, a principle which may be applied ignobly, and is often so applied, by restricting the range of *ἡδονή* to lower meanings, Plato, by bringing forward that higher meaning and adding his doctrine of measurement, lifts the principle out of itself and transforms it. The Sokratic paradox, easily misunderstood by the careless, becomes to an alert mind a keen moral spur.

### III.

What now shall we do with apparent contradictions, in the Gorgias and elsewhere? They are only apparent and vanish when we attend to the meaning of *ἡδονή*, and note for each passage the range to which it is restricted by the context.

The case is clearest in Tim. 69cd; I quote in Archer-Hind's translation substantially. "God wrought this universe, a single living creature containing within itself all living creatures, mortal and immortal, that exist. And of the divine he himself was the creator; but the creation of mortals he delivered over to his own children to work out. And they, in imitation of him, having received from him the immortal principle of soul (*ἀρχὴν ψυχῆς ἀθάνατον*), fashioned round about her a mortal body and gave her all the body to ride in (*ἔχημα*); and beside her they built in another kind of soul, even that which is mortal, having within itself dread and inevitable passions (*δυνὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα παθήματα*)—first pleasure, the strongest allurements of evil (*μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ*), next pains that scare good things away (*ἀγαθῶν φυγὰς*); confidence moreover and fear, a yoke of thoughtless counselors (*ἄφρονες συμβούλων*); wrath hard to assuage (*θυμὸν δυσπαράμυθτον*) and hope that lightly leads astray; and having mingled all these perforce with reasonless sensation and passion that ventures all things (*ἐπιχειρητῇ παντὸς ἔρωτι*), so they fashioned the mortal soul." That is, pleasure which is "the strongest bait of evil" is expressly regarded, along with *θυμός*, *θάρρος*, *φόβος*, *ἐλπίς*, and *ἔρως*, as part of the animal soul, the life of the body, mortal like the body, and distinct from the immortal principle of soul, *ἀρχὴ ψυχῆς ἀθάνατος*; their very dwelling-places

in the body, as he goes on to explain, are distinct. This mortal *ἡδονή* of the body has nothing in common, except that analogy which justifies the common name, with the immortal *ἡδονή* which chooses death of the body rather than alienation from those realities that have charmed the soul in our earlier existence, before incarnation.

In the *Gorgias* one arrives at the same result, only by a longer road—by following our word *ἡδονή* through several pages. And the starting-point is important, as every word gets its atmosphere, its range of meaning, from what has preceded. The dialogue begins with a discussion of the nature and power of rhetoric. This is found to lie in persuasion, wholly apart from instruction—wholly apart, that is, from knowledge, and without reference to right and wrong. Laudation of rhetoric is therefore laudation of power without reference to the moral nature of the means employed in acquiring or exerting power; it is praise of worldly success, though gained by injustice. Polos maintains that successful injustice which escapes punishment is happiness and true success. That leads Sokrates to prove that to commit injustice is worse, for him who does it, than to suffer injustice; that to be punished for injustice committed is better for him who is punished than to escape punishment; that the most wretched of men is he who has gained power wrongfully and escaped all punishment therefor. Being a wrongdoer is the great damage to the soul; taking due punishment for wrongdoing tends to free the soul from this hurt and restore the suffering soul to health. This unexpected conclusion, with its applications, excites the derision of Kallikles. In a long discourse he makes much of the distinction between nature and conventional law. Natural justice, in his view, dictates that the strong should rule; as to the strong man's ruling himself, he who is to live rightly should let his own desires (*ἐπιθυμίας*) be as strong as possible and should be himself competent to satisfy them to the utmost (491e).

Here is the starting-point of a discussion of pleasure. It is because the mass of men are unable to procure satisfaction for their desires—that is, to procure pleasures—that they praise justice and self-control; entire freedom from self-control, if coupled with power, is by nature excellence (*ἀρετή*) and happi-

ness. There can be no doubt about the kind of ἡδοναί Kallikles is praising. These are the pleasures that henceforth are under discussion. When (in 495d) the position of Kallikles is summarized in the principle that pleasant (ἡδύ) and good are the same, while knowledge and bravery are different from the good and from each other, there can be no doubt that under the term pleasant is included precisely that "greatest bait of evil," wholly distinct from the ἡδονή of Plato's hedonism. Nothing has been said to elevate the tone of ἡδύς when a little later (499e, 500a) the principle is accepted that the aim of all action is the good, and that one should do, not the good for the sake of the pleasant, but the pleasant for the sake of the good. The contrast between the good and the pleasant is quite in place and has nothing to do with Plato's hedonism or that pleasure which in the Protagoras is made the measure of the good. And the sentences following fairly suggest the art of measurement. It is agreed that not every man is competent to decide what pleasant things are good and what are bad, but only the τεχνικός, one who has training and skill.

Considering now which arts make pleasure their aim and which make good their aim, Sokrates classes concert music and the art of tragedy with political oratory and fancy cooking as forms of flattery, aiming at pleasure rather than the good of body or soul. Here certainly are included higher kinds of pleasure than those we call sensual, but no suggestion of that highest pleasure of the immortal part of us, the kind of pleasure for which the brave man or the martyr is ready to sacrifice life. That is wholly included under the good. Nowhere in the Gorgias is ἡδονή employed in that inclusive sense, with prominence given ultimately to the noblest phase of it—to the pleasure of the immortal part of soul—which in the Protagoras is the foundation of Plato's hedonism. The myth that ends the Gorgias emphasizes the immortal destiny of man, the happiness of those souls who have kept themselves uncontaminated by the body.

Perhaps we need not follow out in detail the Phaedo, the Philebus, and the discussion of pleasure in the Republic. All lead to the same result. Every kind of pleasure is included under ἡδονή in one place or another, except precisely that which makes Plato's hedonism an elevated doctrine, wholly consistent with



the entire body of his ethical teaching. Demotic or popular virtue is in the *Phaedo* his term for that which rests on a calculation of pleasures and pains of the various lower kinds, philosophic virtue his term for that which chooses above all else the highest happiness of the soul.

Plato seems to have recognized that the paradoxical way of stating his principle of measurement, with the shift in significance of *ἡδονή* and ultimate exclusion of all its lower range, which is precisely its most usual range, led too inevitably to misunderstanding. That was reason enough why he never recurred to that mode of statement.

T. D. GOODELL.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

#### IV.—CLITARCHUS.

##### I.

Clitarchus and Onesicritus are representatives of the same form of rhetorical embellishment in history, and the characterization of the latter by Strabo xv. 1. 28 C 698 might be applied to the former. Their literary relation needs, not demonstration, but merely illustration. Strabo xv. 1. 30 C 699 (from Onesicritus) and Diodorus xvii. 91. 3, with the same Greek words differently arranged, state that in India wives were burned with their dead husbands. Strabo also, in xv. 2. 14 C 726, says there is a gold-bearing river in Carmania. This is, according to Pliny *N. H.* vi. 23 (26). 98, Hyctanis, (flumen) portuosum et auro fertile. Curtius generalizes the statement in viii. 9. 18 aurum flumina vehunt, and the entire description, although derived immediately from Clitarchus, goes back to Onesicritus. So intimately are the two writers associated that it is impossible to determine all the threads woven by each in the later history of Alexander. Still it will be not an altogether fruitless task to consider the actual and also the probable contribution of each to the history of Alexander.

At the outset we are met with uncertainty in all the chronological data in regard to the original writers of the history of Alexander. If we assume that all we have in regard to the seer Aristander is from Callisthenes, the latest date for the close of C.'s work should be 328 B. C., when Aristander is mentioned for the last time. An item in Arrian, *Anabasis* vii. 18. 5, shows that Aristobulus wrote after the battle of Ipsus, 301 B. C. But the original comment by Arrian in *Anabasis* vii. 22. 5 on the greatness of Seleucus, in connection with the other statement, may be taken as an indication that Aristobulus wrote before the defeat of Lysimachus at Corupedion, when Seleucus became master of the larger part of the empire of Alexander. Judging by these passages, the limits would be 301 and 281 B. C. Fränkel (*Die Quellen der Alexanderhistoriker*, p. 123), accepting a misapplication of the words of Arrian *Anabasis* vii. 29, places him after 294 or 287 B. C. This is supported by a calculation

based on Lucian *Macrob.* 22, which says that Aristobulus began his history at the age of 84. If 50 at the death of Alexander, then 323 B. C.—(84-50) = 289 B. C. But absolutely nothing is known about the age of Aristobulus at the death of Alexander, and in spite of Lucian's statement taken from the preface to the work of Aristobulus, he tells us in *The Way to Write History* 12 how Alexander disposed of one chapter of the history, thus giving evidence for an early as well as for a late date of composition. Onesicritus read the story of the Queen of the Amazons, πολλοῖς χρόνους ὕστερον (Plutarch *Alexander* 46), to Lysimachus who assumed the title of king in 304, and was killed in 281 B. C., and the reading may be placed anywhere between these two dates. The last mention of Nearchus is for the year 312 B. C. The compilation of the work of Ptolemy may belong to the quiet years of his reign before his death in 283 B. C. Arrian, and Curtius in ix. 5. 21, indicate a decided Ptolemaic coloring, and, on the basis of this, we may imagine that near the close of his reign the king received a copy of the work of Aristobulus, and in reply published his history of Alexander. But this hypothesis can be reversed, and in fact all the chronological data are so indefinite that any of them can be shifted to suit any theory of literary relationship.

Very little is known of the personal history of Clitarchus. Pliny *N. H.* x. 49 (70). 136 states that he was the son of Dinon whose history of Persian affairs extended to the invasion of Egypt by Ochus. If the continuation of his work was prevented by death, about 351 B. C. must be the latest assignable date for the birth of Clitarchus. Yet the statement in Pliny: Nec Sirenes impetraverint fidem, adfirmet licet Dinon Clitarchi celebrati auctoris pater in India esse, mulcerique earum cantu quos gravatos somno lacerent, indicates a later date, though Pliny may have confused father and son. Compare *Ælian Hist. Anim.* xvii, 23, where the Sirens are mentioned in a quotation from Clitarchus.

Diodorus ii. 3. 7 does not include Clitarchus among the writers who accompanied Alexander on his Asiatic campaign, and he may not have been an original observer of the facts which he records. On this point also there may be various interpretations. Strabo quotes freely from Aristobulus, Nearchus and Onesicritus, but rejects the statement of Clitarchus in three of the five

passages where he is mentioned, and in another summarily passes him by. Plutarch merely mentions him (*Alexander* 46; and *Themistocles* 27). Still Pliny the Elder and Ælian seem more favorably inclined, the former quoting quite freely from him, and the latter (*Hist. Anim.* xvii. 2; 22-23; and 25), giving, as if they were original, his descriptions of monkeys, birds and snakes. What we get from the Romans seems to favor his originality. The crystallized critical view is given by Quintilian x. 1. 74; probatur ingenium, fides infamatur. Similar to this is Cicero, *Brutus* 11. 42, where, speaking of the description by Clitarchus and Stratocles of the death of Themistocles, there is added: Hanc enim mortem rhetorice et tragice ornare potuerunt. Cicero also says, in *De Legg.* i. 2. 8, that Sisenna had acquired "puerile quiddam," as if he had read none of the Greeks except Clitarchus. However, reliance on him for historical data is attested by Cicero *ad Fam.* ii. 10 (to Caelius), and by Pliny's application to him of the words "celebratus auctor." Curtius in ix. 8. 15 names him as authority for a number which Diodorus xvii. 102. 6 accepts without question, and in ix. 5. 21 belabors him and Timagenes for a mistake about Ptolemy.

The date when Clitarchus wrote can not be determined. Arrian, *Anabasis* vii. 26. 3, states that Aristobulus and Ptolemy have nothing further about the death of Alexander, and then gives, from an unknown source, an account of the poisoning plot. This is set forth in the works derived from Clitarchus—Justinus xii. 14; Curtius x. 10. 14-19; Diodorus xvii. 118. 1-2; and Plutarch *Alexander* 77. The last writer says that no one had any suspicion of the plot until the sixth year after the death of Alexander. If Clitarchus was under the protection of Olympias he may have written at that time. But Diodorus (section 2) declares that most writers did not dare to mention the plot until after the death of Cassander, which was in 297 B. C.

Strabo xvii. 1. 8 C 794 relates that the body of Alexander was buried in Alexandria where it still lay, and Suetonius *Aug.* 18 agrees with the latter part of the statement; cf. *Cal.* 52. See also Curtius x. 10. 19-20: Regnum enim Macedoniae Antipater et Graeciam quoque invasit: suboles deinde excepit interfectis omnibus, quicumque Alexandrum etiam longinqua cognatione contigerant. Ceterum corpus eius a Ptolemæo, cui Ægyptus

cesserat, Memphim et inde paucis post annis Alexandriam translatum est omnisque memoriae ac nomini honos habitus. Diodorus xviii. 28. 2 says that after two years' preparation Arrhidaeus started to transfer the body of Alexander from Babylon to Egypt, but Ptolemy advancing as far as Syria decided to place it in Alexandria. Pausanias i. 6. 3 mentions Memphis, as does Curtius, but tells us that the removal from the place was by Ptolemy Philadelphus. This is probably incorrect, yet we may well believe that it was well within the reign of the first Ptolemy before Alexandria attained such prominence as to make it the fittest resting-place for Alexander. If the statement of Curtius was derived from Clitarchus, it merely shows that the latter wrote some time after the removal of the body of Alexander. However, the words "suboles excepit, interfectis omnibus" refer to some time after 308 B. C., when Cleopatra, the last survivor of the royal house of Macedon, was assassinated by Cassander. From these two indefinite statements we get only the indefinite conclusions, perhaps after 308, perhaps after 297 B. C.

The number of books in the work of Clitarchus is unknown. The scholiast to Aristophanes *Birds* 487 gives an item from the tenth book, and Diogenes Laertius v. 6 Prooem. one from the twelfth, although this assignment may really be to Clearchus who is mentioned in the same passage.

Ancient critics did not fail to notice the rhetorical character of his work. Longinus *De Sublimitate* 3. 2, after mentioning Gorgias of Leontini, continues: "So it is with some of the expressions of Callisthenes which are not sublime but high-flown, and still more with those of Cleitarchus, for the man is frivolous and blows 'On pigmy hautboys, mouthpiece have they none.'" (Translations by Roberts and Way.) Roberts also states, p. 223 s. v. *Cleitarchus*, "It seems hitherto to have escaped notice that the frigidity of Cleitarchus' style is condemned in the *Rhetoric* of Philodemus the Epicurean [ψυχρό]τερον δ τι τοῦ Κλειταρχείου, frigidius vel Clitarchico sermone. Hercul. volum. xi. 37." This is in accord with the judgment of Demetrius, *De Elocutione* 304, where he quotes from Clitarchus in regard to the anthredon or tenthredon: "It lays waste the hill-country and dashes into the hollow oaks. This might have served for a description of some wild ox or of the Erymanthian boar, rather than a species of bee. The result is that the passage

is both repellent and frigid" (Translation by Roberts). This is like Goldsmith's criticism: "Dr. Johnson, if you were to make little fishes talk they would talk like big whales." But in fairness to Clitarchus it should be noticed that the wording in Diodorus xvii. 75. 5-6 is very different. After mentioning the vine, the fig-tree and the honey-tree in Hyrcania, he adds: "There is a winged insect in the land, less in size than the bee, but of the greatest usefulness. Flitting over the hill-country it gathers for itself flowers of every kind, and living in the hollow rocks and in the lightning-struck trees, it works in wax, and prepares a liquid excelling in sweetness and not much inferior to honey among us." If Diodorus reproduces Clitarchus, Demetrius gives a parody in which *κατανέμεται* is substituted for *ἐπινεμόμενον*, and *εἰσίσταται* for *ἐνδιατρίβον*. Strabo ii. 1. 14 C 73 gives the first items the same as Diodorus, but is silent in regard to the tenthredon. Pliny *N. H.* xii. 8 (18). 34 (cf. Curt. vi. 4. 22) quotes from Onesicritus in regard to the honey-tree, and in xv. 18(19). 68 in regard to the fig. These assignments mark Onesicritus as the original author of the statements, and, judging by Diodorus, Clitarchus added the description of the tenthredon, and this was parodied by Demetrius in the spirit of Clitarchus himself. That he added items to the account of Onesicritus is also indicated by other statements.

Strabo vii. 2. 1 C 293 criticizes an item from Clitarchus which says that the horsemen of Alexander were almost overtaken by the tide from the Ocean. This is a part—*equites ingenti cursu refugere, et secutus est aestus*—in the long description in Curtius ix. 9. 9 ff. It was a veritable deluge, and may well be considered as an addition to the account, probably from Onesicritus, which is given in Pliny *N. H.* xiii. 25(51). 141. After mentioning the soldiers he adds: *Eodem tractu insularum silvas operit aestus, quamquam altiores platanis populisque altissimis . . . harum minores totas integit mare. maximarum cacumina extant, ad quae naves religantur, et cum recessit aestus, ad radices.* The tides are not mentioned by either Diodorus or Plutarch, and only incidentally by Arrian vi. 18. 4. As Clitarchus seems to have added to the account of Onesicritus, so Curtius added to Clitarchus by giving reminiscences of Sallust and Livy, Vergil and Ovid. On the strength of the statement

in Plutarch *Alexander* 46 it may be held that Onesicritus put into shape the story of the Queen of the Amazons, which had as its real basis Alexander's statement that a Scythian princess had been offered him as a wife. Strabo xi. 5. 4 C 505 quotes from Clitarchus that Thalestria came from the Caspian Gates and the Thermodon, and then adds that these two were 6000 stades apart. Both these items from Clitarchus indicate the way in which he dealt with the work of Onesicritus.

There is another criticism which fits Clitarchus, although it may not have been so intended. Longinus *De Sublimitate* 4. 7 criticises the expression in Herodotus v. 18 to the effect that beautiful women are "eye-smarts," τὰς καλὰς γυναῖκας "ἀλγυδόνας ὀφθαλμῶν," and Plutarch *Alexander* 21 gives, perhaps from Clitarchus, a remark of Alexander in regard to Persian women εἰσὶν ἀλγυδόνες ὁμμάτων αἱ Περσίδες, in which the Greek is slightly different.

## II.

In spite of his importance as a writer the material directly assigned to him is provokingly small. More than a dozen of his proverbial passages have been preserved, and if we had only these, he might be ranked as a keen-sighted philosopher, free from the defects of rhetorical exaggeration. *Ab tribus omnia disce.* Stobaeus 53. 13 (Meineke ii. 314): πᾶσα τόλμη καὶ τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπερβαίνει μέτρα: "Boldness transcends even the limits of power"; Meineke iv. 143, *Addenda* 2: Ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ οὐδ' ἀδίκως ἔπραξας δις ἀδικήσεις: "Defending what you unjustly did, twice shall you be unjust"; Meineke iv. 239. 2: Ὅφείλομεν ἑαυτοὺς ἐθίζειν ἀπ' ὀλίγων ζῆν, ἵνα μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἔνεκεν χρημάτων πάθωμεν: "We ought to habituate ourselves to live on slender means, that we may suffer no disgrace in our pursuit of money."

With the exception of the two references in Curtius, and a few others, the fragments give us incidents associated with the career of Alexander, rather than his acts. They fall into four classes: 1. Incidental references used as illustrations; 2. Passages the substance of which is found in other works; 3. Short statements which are found elsewhere in expanded form; and 4. Items which are assigned to other writers also.

1. Strabo v. 2. 6 C 224 refers to the salts of India mentioned by Clitarchus, and in xv. 1. 69 C 718 says that the full

description of the orion and the catreus must be read in Clitarchus, while *Ælian Hist. Anim.* xvii. 22-23 more generously quotes the entire passage. A scholium to Aristophanes *Birds* 487 tells how the Persian kings wore the tiara, and one to Theocritus *Id.* ii. 59 is in regard to the use of the word *θρόνον* among the Ætolians.

2. A few items specifically assigned by one writer, are undesignated in others. Pliny *N. H.* vi. 31(36). 198 describes the richness of the islands of the Indian ocean, and Curtius x. 1. 11 has an adaptation of the same account. Athenæus iv. 148d, quoted from Clitarchus, shows the source of Diodorus xvii. 14. 4 in regard to the wealth of the Thebans, though the menu given by Athenæus is omitted.

3. Athenæus xiii. 576d denies that Thais was with Alexander, but quotes Clitarchus as authority for the report that she was responsible for the burning of Persepolis. Diodorus xvii. 72; Plutarch *Alexander* 38; and Curtius v. 7 associate her with the act of Alexander. Strabo xv. 3. 6 C 729 and Arrian *Anabasis* iii. 18. 11, without mentioning her, say that Alexander wished to avenge injuries done to the Greeks by the Persians. With this story may be placed that about the queen of the Amazons toward which Strabo and Arrian have the same critical attitude; see *Class. Phil.* XIII, 306.

4. The association with Clitarchus of Timagenes by Curtius ix. 5. 21 (the presence of Ptolemy in a battle); of Theopompus by Athenæus xiii. 586c (Harpalus and Glycera); of Hesiod and later writers by the scholiast (the metamorphosis of Teiresias) are examples of cumulative references, and of the facile acceptance by writers of what they found in the works of their predecessors. One of the best illustrations of this is the scholium to Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* ii. 904 in regard to Dionysus. Division of sentiment is shown in Plutarch *Themistocles* 27, where the authority of Charon and Thucydides is opposed to that of Ephorus, Deinon, Clitarchus and Heracleides.

Most of this material is not found in either Diodorus or Curtius, and there is in it nothing marvelous excepting about Teiresias, Thais, Thalestria, the tenthredon and the tides. In favor of the Clitarchan derivation of at least some of the marvelous that is unassigned is the fact that it is not found in



Arrian. However, this is not a sure test for the source of all that is marvelous in Curtius.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus *De Compositione Verborum* 18 tells of the treatment by Alexander of Betis the commander at Gaza. This is not mentioned by Diodorus xvii. 48. 7, nor by Plutarch *Alexander* 25, nor in the brief statement by Josephus *Ant. Jud.* xi. 8. 3, where he is called Bubemesis instead of Betis. Dionysius after giving one account follows with a quotation from Hegesias, some parts of which are parallel to Curtius iv. 6. 7 ff. Strabo quotes from him in viii. 1. 16 C 396, and criticises him in xiv. 1. 41 C 648. Cicero parodies his style *ad Att.* xii. 6, and condemns him (Orator 67. 226): *Saltat incidens particulas; as also (Brutus 83. 287): At quid est tam fractum, tam minutum, tam in ipsa . . . concinnitate puerile?* These quotations indicate his rhetorical importance, while Plutarch *Alexander* 3 shows that he drew some of his subjects from the life of Alexander. It is reasonable to suppose that he was known to Curtius, and that from him came the description of the death of Betis. Not only may the story be derived from Hegesias, but there may also be an imitation of his style in section 28: *Videtisne obstinatum ad tacendum? num genu posuit? num vocem supplicem misit?*

There are also some passages which can be traced to other sources than Clitarchus. Strabo xv. 1. 39 C 703—52 C 707, and Arrian *Indica* 11-12 give, from Megasthenes, an account of the classes in India, and practically the same facts are found in Diodorus ii. 40-41, and in the use of Greek he does not differ more widely from the others than they differ from each other. As Megasthenes was at hand for Strabo, there is no need of an assumption that Diodorus did not draw from the same source.

Matthew Arnold in *The Study of Poetry* speaks of "an infallible touchstone for detecting the presence or absence of high poetic quality and also the degree of this quality," but for the facts of Clitarchus there can be nothing more than a theoretical reconstruction based on the similarities and divergences found in later writers. Unity of narrative is given as a criterion, although this may be found in a passage made up from several sources. "Near the Acesines river, which was fifteen stades in width, the Macedonians found great trees, and under the shade of one a myriad of men could rest. Their branches

grew downward, and among them were seen large apes almost human in appearance. On the ground crawled monstrous snakes, one of which seized Python the son of Antigenes." This passage does not lack unity, though the items came from Aristobulus, Nearchus, Onesicritus and Ptolemy. At most, unity merely shows that some one has brought into harmonious relations a number of separate elements observed by himself or others. The problem of combining items from several writers giving their original observations is exactly the same as that of one writer making the same observations and combining them into one account.

The dictum *simplex et unum* is merely a suggested line of investigation, and conclusions will differ. At many a turn in the history of Alexander we are met with the query Does a single item that is assigned to some author prove the authorship of the context, or is it extraneous matter introduced for illustration? Diodorus ii. 7 refers to both Ktesias and Clitarchus in his description of Babylon, and some of the same items in Curtius v. 1. 24 ff. might seem to fix Clitarchus as the source for the passage in Diodorus. Yet there is a close resemblance between Curtius and Strabo xvi. 1. 5 C 738, and the reference to the "Wonders" cannot be from Clitarchus, unless he wrote after the erection of the Pharos under Ptolemy Philadelphus. However the question is of most interest in regard to the fifteenth book of Strabo and the *Alexander* of Plutarch.

We find in the first section of the latter the significant remark: "Some little deed, some word or jest has put an emphasis on character more than fights with myriads slain, battle lines the greatest or siege of cities." Plutarch's work is a *vita* not a *historia*, and the quotations are little sidelights showing the wide extent of the field from which he gleaned his material. No one writer could give more than a little to illustrate the many-sidedness of Alexander, and Plutarch has given us a little from many, rather than much from a few. His quotations from Menander (17) and Sophocles (?), from Chares (20) in regard to the wounding of Alexander at Issus, from Sotion (61) about a pet dog, and many other statements, either definitely or indefinitely assigned, are merely to throw light on, rather than to indicate the source of the context.

Let us apply this conclusion to the *Alexander* 31-33 which contains an account of the battle at Arbela. Callisthenes is twice

mentioned, at the beginning, for the prayer of Alexander, and near the end, for an interpretation of the attitude of Parmenio toward Alexander. That the reference to Callisthenes is purely incidental is indicated by another quotation in 31. There was a fight between two sections of the army, so the story runs, and the one called "Alexander" was victor, receiving twelve villages as a reward. "These things says Eratosthenes." Then it is stated that the great battle took place, not at Arbela, but at Gaugamela. Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 11. 5 tells us that both Aristobulus and Ptolemy mention this fact, and it is also found in Strabo xvi. 1. 3. C 737. The last item coming down from the time of Aristobulus was put in to correct what had been recorded by Diodorus, and the narrative was illuminated by two quotations from Callisthenes, one from Eratosthenes, and an item credited to "they say." If Plutarch reproduces the description by Callisthenes, it is passing strange that two items should have been picked out and assigned to him, when all was his. There would be as little need for this as for a writer beginning a long quotation with the words "Four score and seven years ago," to close, "As Lincoln says in his Speech at Gettysburg 'that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.'"

We may perhaps safely assume that the larger part of Diodorus xvii, as also of Justinus xi-xii, is derived from Clitarchus. Yet the brevity of the work of Justinus limits its use for purposes of comparison, and, in addition, some of his statements have evidently been changed in transmission. The Diodorus-Curtius account gives 10,000 as the number of horsemen among the Malli, and this shows that an l has been added in Justinus xii. 9. 3 lx milia. We find in Curtius viii. 11. 1: Hinc Polypercon ad urbem Noram cum exercitu missus, but in Justinus xii. 10. 1 Polyperconta cum exercitu Babyloniam mittit; it appears the Greek name Ὀρα (Arrian *Anabasis* iv. 28. 4) with some other letters was mistaken for Βαβυλῶνα. There are numerous instances of absolute agreement between Diodorus and Curtius, as also between the latter and Justinus (Pompeius Trogus). In such cases Curtius may have used Clitarchus, or he may have used only the later writers. When the difference is merely in the details, Clitarchus may be the source for all. Justinus xi. 15. 1 gives Thara as the place where Darius was seized by Bessus; Curtius

v. 13. 24 and Plutarch *Alexander* 43 name Polystratus as the Macedonian by whom he was found. All these items may have been given by Clitarchus, and later writers who based their works on his, followed their own stylistic sense in the selection of details. But in Curtius there are also indications that at times he went over to the Aristobulan tradition, as in ix. 5. 9 super latus; Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 10. 1 ὑπὲρ τὸν μαστόν; Diodorus xvii. 99. 3 ὑπὸ τὸν μαστόν; Justinus 12. 9. 12 sub mamma. There are differences more marked in other passages, and we may safely hold that Arrian emphasizes the narrative of Aristobulus to disparage that of Clitarchus. Of the many instances where this is possible we shall mention only the personal combats of Alexander at the Granicus (*Anab.* i. 15. 7: Diod. xvii. 20. 3-7); the wounding of Alexander among the Malli (*Anab.* vi. 9-11: Diod. xvii. 98. 5-99. 4); and the return to the Hydaspes (*Anab.* v. 29. 5: Diod. xvii. 95. 3).

In addition to differences in fact stated, there are also expressional variations in which there are two noticeable features: 1. A change in the order of terms; and 2. Variations in verbal statement.

1. A change in the arrangement of words is generally a sure sign of the use of the same source, and finds its best illustration in the quotations or adaptations of Livy by Curtius, in the abridgement of Pompeius Trogus (Justinus) by Orosius, and, in another field, in the reproduction of parts of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* by Martianus Capella. There being no originality to be shown in the statement of the same fact, a show of it was gained by changing the arrangement of the terms. As an illustration we may cite Strabo xv. 1. 28 C 698, having the size of the kingdom of Taxiles at the close of the description, while Plutarch *Alexander* 59 has it at the beginning. Some words of Arrian *Anabasis* i. 21. 1-4, and of Diodorus xvii. 25. 5-6 will also be given: sec. 1: Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον δύο τῶν Μακεδόνων ὁπλίται ἐκ τῆς [ὕστερον] Περδίκκου τάξεως ἐσυκηνούντες τε καὶ ἀμα ξυμπίνοντες αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐκάτερος ἐπὶ μέγα τῷ λόγῳ ἦγεν; and in 4: καὶ δύο πύργοι καὶ μετοπύργιον ἐς ἔδαφος καταπεπτωκότα; Diod.: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δύο μὲν πύργων εἰς ἔδαφος καθηρημένων καὶ δυεῖν μετοπυργίων ἐρριμμένων τῶν μὲν Περδίκκου στρατιωτῶν τινες μεθυσθέντες προπετῶς νυκτὸς προσέβαλλον τοῖς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τείχεσιν. The associated statements are good illustrations of variational

quotations : Arr. : Ἐνθα δὲ φιλοτιμία τε ἐσπικτε αὐτοῖς, καὶ τι καὶ ὁ οἶνος ὑπεθέρμαινεν, ὥστε ὀπλισάμενοι αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ σφῶν προσβάλλουσι τῇ τείχει κατὰ τὴν ἄκρην . . . καὶ τούτους κατιδόντες τινὲς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως δύο τε ὄντας καὶ οὐ ξὺν λογισμῷ προσφερομένους τῇ τείχει ἐπεκθέουσιν ; Diod. : οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μένονα συννοήσαντες τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν προσβαλλόντων ; Arr. : Καὶ ξυμπέπτει μάχῃ καρτερὰ πρὸς τῇ τείχει καὶ κατακλείονται αὐθις πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων εἰσω τῶν πυλῶν οἱ ἐπεκδραμόντες ; Diod. : Καὶ μεγάλης μάχης γενομένης καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιφανόντων οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι βιασθέντες συνεκλείσθησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. The passage is about twice as long in Arrian as in Diodorus, and we can not tell whether some original has been contracted by one, or expanded by the other. But, whichever way it was, the setting in Arrian suggests that it was written with an eye to what had already been set forth by Diodorus.

## III.

There are no definite indications that Clitarchus made use of the work of Callisthenes, the only historian of Alexander who certainly preceded him. Though little weight can be attached to numbers, it is interesting to compare some of his with those from other sources. The number of men under Alexander when he entered Asia is stated as follows :

	Footmen.	Horsemen.
Callisthenes (Polybius xii. 19. 1)	40000	4500
Aristobulus (Plutarch <i>De Alex. Fort.</i>		
Or. I 3. 327 D)	30000	4000
Anaximenes (Plutarch <i>De Alex. Fort.</i> )	43000	5500
Ptolemy " " " "	30000	5000
Plutarch <i>Alexander</i> 15 minimum	30000	4000
" " " maximum	43000	5000
Diodorus xvii. 17. 4; Justinus xi. 6. 2	32000	4500

Aristobulus gives the minimum number (30000:4000), while the other five sets are different, and it is only in the number of horsemen that Diodorus agrees with Callisthenes. Arrian *Anabasis* i. 11. 3 follows Ptolemy. In the same connection Polybius (from Callisthenes) has 5000:800 as the number of men joining Alexander in Asia before the battle of Issus, while Arrian *Anabasis* i. 29. 4 gives 3000:650 for the same period.

There are however four fragments which give material for a comparison with the narrative of other writers. These are 1. The passage of the Climax; 2. The battle at Issus; 3. The visit to the shrine of Ammon; and 4. The statue of Sardanapalus.

1. Josephus *Ant. Jud.* ii. 16. 5 compares the passage with that of the Israelites through the Red Sea, adding that it was described by all writers of the affairs of Alexander. Strabo xiv. 3. 9 C 666 says that Alexander passed through in the winter season, relying on chance (τῇ τύχῃ). But Eustathius on Homer *Il.* xiii. 29 quotes from Callisthenes in regard to the obeisance of the sea in the presence of the king. Arrian *Anabasis* i. 26. 2 relates that in the eyes of Alexander and his friends the accomplishment was οὐκ ἄνεν τοῦ θείου. Plutarch *Alexander* 17 quotes from Menander, and also states that many writers mention θεία τινὶ τύχῃ, though Alexander in his epistles denies that there was anything divine about it. Inasmuch as Diodorus who uses τύχῃ freely does not mention this episode, it may be taken as proof that it was not mentioned at all by Clitarchus.

2. Polybius xii. 19 ff. reviews and points out the defects in the description by Callisthenes of the battle at Issus. Arrian *Anabasis* ii. 8 ff. eliminates the difficulties in the narrative of Callisthenes, while Plutarch *Alexander* 20 has little about the battle itself, but quotes from the letters of Alexander, and from Chares in regard to the wounding of Alexander by Darius. Diodorus xvii. 33. 1 puts the horsemen in front, the phalanx in the rear, thus reversing the positions assigned by Arrian ii. 8. 2, and in section 2 characterizes the Thessalians who are barely mentioned by Arrian. His account in general bears no relation to that of Callisthenes, while Curtius closely resembles Arrian.

3. Strabo xvii. 1. 43 C 814 relates that Alexander greatly desired to visit the shrine of Ammon, when he heard that Perseus and Hercules had been there before him. He then mentions the departure from Paraetonium, the wandering, the rains, and the ravens leading the way. Plutarch *Alexander* 27 (from Callisthenes) adds that their cries directed the Macedonians by night. All the other accounts have the story of the ravens, but Ptolemy (Arrian *Anabasis* iii. 3. 5) says that two dragons went before the army uttering cries. Diodorus xii. 51. 3 quotes the declaration of the priest that Alexander would be invincible (ἀνίκητον),

as does Curtius iv. 7. 28 (*invictum*). This may be taken as an addition by Clitarchus, as Plutarch *Alexander* 14 gives it as the declaration of the priestess at Delphi.

4. The statue of Sardanapalus at Anchiale had on it an inscription in Assyrian stating that he had captured Anchiale and Tarsus in one day. "Eat, drink, and be merry, for all else is not worth this"—that is, the snap indicated by the position of the fingers of the right hand. The details of the description vary with different writers who may be classified according to the translation of the last word. Callisthenes (Fr. 32) has *ἔσθι, πίνε, ὄχευε*. Plutarch *De Alexandri magni Fortuna aut Virtute* Or. ii. 3. 336 C changes the last word to *ἀφροδισιάζε*. Arrian *Anabasis* ii. 5. 4 (without assignment); Athenaeus xii. 530a, and Strabo xiv. 5. 9 C 672 have *παίζε*. Strabo also gives from Choerilus: *ταῦτ' ἔχω, ὅσος' ἔφαγον καὶ ἀθύβρισα, καὶ μετ' ἔπειρος τέπν' ἔπαθον*. The adaptation by Choerilus is the prevailing form, as in Diodorus ii. 23. 3; Polybius vii. 12. 4; Plutarch *De Alex. Fort.* i. 9. 330 F and *De se . . . laudando* 17; and the scholiast on Aristoph. *Birds* 1022, who states that it was quoted by Apollodorus. The poetical form probably gives the content of the inscription on the tomb of Sardanapalus; the prose form that on the monument, given literally by Callisthenes and softened by Aristobulus. Compare the Septuagint rendition of Ecclesiastes viii. 15 *εἰ μὴ τοῦ φαγεῖν καὶ τοῦ πίνειν καὶ τοῦ εὐφρανθῆναι*, both the original and the translation being produced under Alexandrian influences. Clitarchus (Athenaeus xii. 530a) mentions the death of the king, but nothing is indicated in regard to any inscription.

#### IV.

Through Arrian we have the facts of Aristobulus, and through Diodorus, Curtius and Pompeius Trogus (Justinus) the facts and fancies of the Clitarchan tradition. There are uncounted differences in numbers, and even the same writer, in the text as we have it, does not always give the same in different connections. According to Curtius vii. 9. 13, Alexander pursued the Scythians 80 stades. Plutarch *Alexander* 45 has 100, and in *De Magni Alexandri Fortuna aut Virtute* Or. ii. 9. 341 C, 150. Numbers are a sort of unmental element in the narrative, and differences in statement, where it is a matter of a greater or

lesser number of strokes of the pen, are of little moment, and many differences are merely the result of changes in transmission. Yet there are some which indicate original differences in statement. Arrian *Anabasis* v. 3. 5 says that Taxiles gave to Alexander 200 talents of silver, 3000 sacred cattle, above a myriad of sheep, and 30 elephants. Curtius has in viii. 12. 11: lvi elephantum erant . . . multa pecora eximiae magnitudinis, tauros ad iii milia; and in section 15 signati argenti lxxx talenta. The definite numbers in the first group are separated by the indefinite, *multa* is for myriad, one is not given with the others, and two are different from Arrian's.

Many of the variations in names count for nothing, as they are due to mistakes in copying or to mistaken inferences. When Diodorus has Ballonymus, Bagodaras and Mophis which appear in Curtius as Abdalonymus, Cobares and Omphis, it is clear that there has been merely varying transmission. Noticeable are the different accounts of the combats of Alexander at the battle of the Granicus. Arrian *Anabasis* i. 15. 7 says that he struck Mithridates on the head with a spear, and was struck by Rhosakes whom he killed. Spithridates raised his ax against Alexander, but Clitus the son of Dropides anticipating the blow cut off his forearm. Diodorus xvii. 20 says that Spithrobates made the attack and was killed by Alexander. Then came the assault of his brother Rhosakes whose hand was cut off by Clitus the Black. Plutarch *Alexander* 16 relates that Spithridates was slain by Clitus (cf. 50), and Rhosakes by Alexander, while in *De Alex. Fort.* Or. ii. 2. 326 F Mithridates and Spithridates are mentioned.

Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 11. 1 states that some give Critodemus Cous, and some Perdiccas as the one who extracted the arrow from Alexander when he was wounded among the Malli. The *Indica* 18. 6 (from Nearchus) names Critobulus Cous among the men on the fleet, and we find in Curtius ix. 5. 25 Critobulus, inter medicos artis eximiae, as if he were the one who extracted the arrow from the eye of Philip, citra deformitatem oris (Pliny *N. H.* vii. 37(37). 124). As some of the authors, and all of the scribes were inditing matters which were outside of their own personal experience, it is not strange that confusion should sometimes arise, as in Diodorus xvii. 25. 5, where among the dead Macedonians is mentioned Neoptolemus their leader,



an illustrious man. Arrian *Anabasis* i. 20. 10 names among the slain Persians, Neoptolemus, the son of Arrabæus, brother of Amyntas, one of those in exile at the court of Darius.

We find in the above, from Arrian, Clitus the son of Dropides, and Neoptolemus the son of Arrabæus, but, in Diodorus, Clitus the Black and Neoptolemus. There is the same difference in Arrian *Anabasis* i. 7. 6; i. 17. 8; i. 25. 1 Alexander the son of Aeropus; but in Diodorus xvii. 32. 1; Curt. vii. 1. 5 et al. Lyncestes Alexander; Just. xi. 2. 2. et al. Alexander Lyncesta. Notice also *Anabasis* iii. 11. 10 Erigyus the son of Larichus; Diodorus xvii. 57. 3 Erigyus the Mitylenæan; *Anabasis* iii. 12. 4 Agathon the son of Tyrinna: Diodorus xvii. 64. 5 Agathon the Pydnaean; *Anabasis* ii. 12. 2 Menes the son of Dionysius: Diodorus xvii. 64. 5 Menes the Pellæan. Arrian (Aristobulus) is always very careful in his personal designations, as is shown by the list of ten names in *Anabasis* i. 14, and of fifteen in iii. 11. 8-11. In Diodorus xvii. 57 also, Nicanor and Philotas are designated as the sons of Parmenio, but only one other, Philip the son of Balacrus, as in Curtius iv. 13. 28, for which Arrian *Anabasis* iii. 11. 10 has Philip the son of Menelaus.

We do not have from Aristobulus the names of the men among whom the empire of Alexander was divided, but the short list in Curtius x. 10. 1-4 does not, in any case, indicate the father, nor does Diodorus xviii. 3, except for Ptolemy. Justinus xiii. 4. 10-13 names the father of Antigonus, Cassander and Seleucus, and has Pithon the son of Agenor to distinguish him from Pithon Illyrius. But we find Laomedon Mytilenæus, Soleus Staganor, Archon Pellæus, and these when mentioned by Arrian are not designated in this way. In only a few instances is there agreement, as in *Anabasis* i. 14. 3 and Diodorus xvii. 17. 4 Calas the son of Harpalus; *Anabasis* i. 8. 2 et al. and Diodorus xvii. 45. 7 Amyntas the son of Andromenes. The *Anabasis* gives us the type of designation for Aristobulus, and the *Indica* that for Nearchus. Diodorus has done the same for Clitarchus, and the two types are entirely distinct.

The names given by Pliny from Onesicritus are different from those in Arrian's *Indica* from Nearchus, as each writer was free to name new places as he pleased. There are also some indications of the same freedom in other connections. Curtius vii. 11 describes the capture of the rock, 30 by 150 stades, of Arimazes

Sogdianus. This is mentioned by Strabo xi. 11. 4 C 517, and by Arrian *Anabasis* iv. 18. 4-7 as the place where the children of Oxyartes were captured. Curtius viii. 2. 19 ff. tells of Sisimithres at Nautaca, and of Alexander using an intermediary—Oxyartes—though later in viii. 4. 21 he recounts the submission of Oxyartes to Alexander. Strabo and Plutarch *Alexander* 58 name Sisimithres and Oxyartes, while Arrian *Anabasis* iv. 21. 1-9 associates the latter with Chorienes. On the Clitarchan side we find Persepolis, which the *Anabasis* has in vii. 1. 1. Here it is associated with Pasargada, which Curtius has in v. 6. 10; and x. 1. 22, as has the *Anabasis* in iii. 18. 10; and vi. 29. 1. Diodorus xvii. 76. 6 states that Bucephalus was a gift from Demaratus the Corinthian, who is mentioned by Plutarch *Alexander* 9, 37 and 56, but it is expressly stated in chapter 6 that the horse was bought from Philonices the Thessalian, and this agrees with Pliny *N. H.* viii. 42(64). 154. There are also other evidences of independent sources. Arrian *Anabasis* i. 11. 1 gives Aegae as the place where the games were held; Diodorus xvii. 16. 3 has Dios. Compare *Anabasis* iii. 18. 2 ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς Περσίδας ἀφίκετο, and Diodorus xvii. 68. 1 ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὰς Σουσιῶδας καλουμένης πέτρας.

The Agriani, agema and ἰλη are the names of the divisions of the Macedonian Army most frequently mentioned. The first two are freely used by Arrian, and occasionally by Curtius. Diodorus has only the last, while it occurs frequently in Arrian, and sometimes where in corresponding passages Curtius has *ala*.

Next to the numbers the names are the most uncertain element in the history of Alexander. And this applies to the important as well as to the unimportant. Diodorus xvii. 15. 1 mentions ten orators, but names only the two most important—Demosthenes and Lycurgus. Arrian *Anabasis* i. 10. 4 associates with these two Hyperides, Polyectus, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus, and Moericles—nine in all. Plutarch *Demosthenes* 23 states that according to Idomeneus and Duris there were ten, but most writers and the most trustworthy give the following: Demosthenes, Polyectus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Moericles, Demon, Callisthenes and Charidemus. This list has Demon and Callisthenes who are not mentioned by Arrian, while Hyperides, Chares, and Diotimus are omitted.

A difference at any single point does not always indicate a

difference between authors. Diodorus xvii. 64. 5 says that Alexander put Agathon the Pydnaean in command of the citadel at Babylon, making Apollodorus the Amphipolitan and Menes the Pellaean rulers of Babylon and of the satrapies as far as Cilicia, and giving them 1000 talents of silver. Curtius v. 1. 43 has the last item, but says that Menes and Apollodorus were put over Babylon and Cilicia. Arrian *Anabasis* iii. 16. 4 names only Apollodorus, but in section 9 Menes is given as commander of Syria, Phoenicia and Cilicia. In this statement Curtius agrees with Arrian, as also in the position assigned to Mazaeus, though he alone mentions Bagophanes. Similar to this last is Curtius vii. 6. 12 and vii. 1. 7 where Berdes is named as the messenger to the Scythians, although Arrian *Anabasis* iv. 1. 1 and iv. 15. 1 says that some messengers were sent. There is the same definiteness in Curtius ix. 8. 28 where Moeris is named as king of Patalia. Arrian merely mentions the ruler, though in *Anabasis* v. 18. 7 he speaks of Meroes, a friend of Porus.

There is occasionally a misinterpretation of the Greek by Curtius giving a name which might be taken as a part of the Clitarchan tradition. According to Curtius v. 1. 16 Alexander came *quartis castris* to Mennin: *Caverna ibi est, ex qua fons ingentem bituminis vim effundit, adeo ut satis constet Babylonios muros ingentis operis huius fontis bitumine interlitos esse*. The same region and its fountain of naphtha are mentioned by Strabo xvi. 1. 4 C 738, and Plutarch devotes one long chapter (*Alexander* 35) to the subject. No mention, however, is made of any place, so that the Mennin of Curtius is probably the misinterpretation of some Greek word.

The form of personal designation as well as that of sections of the army in the Aristobulan and the Clitarchan tradition are distinctly different. Curtius, who is largely dependent on Diodorus, and who in this way reproduces Clitarchus, occasionally draws from the other branch of the history of Alexander. This is due to Onesicritus and Clitarchus, whose main characteristics are so much alike, that it is impossible to separate the parts due to each in the history as it has come down to us.

R. B. STEELE.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY.

## V.—PAUL'S EPISTLES COMPARED WITH ONE ANOTHER AND WITH THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

This paper makes no attempt to settle the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Various claims have been set up by Church Fathers, critics, and scholars for Luke, Paul, Barnabas, Apollos, and others. I shall present none of these claims. By some insistent perversity the name of Paul has been attached to the letter until this good hour, altho modern scholarship overwhelmingly believes that Paul was not its author. Many questions are involved in the study of authorship: the date of composition, the place of composition, the people to whom it was written, the object for which it was written, etc. None of these questions will be discussed at the present time. Following up the suggestion that Paul's writings in some instances resemble the letter to the Hebrews as much as they resemble others of his own letters, it is my pleasure to present a few facts observed and collected from various sources. (I include in this study all the letters generally assigned to Paul.)

As I am in no sense trying to establish or disestablish the Pauline authorship, I pass over the external evidence or lack of evidence with this single statement from Westcott's Introduction to his edition of Hebrews, p. LXVI, in which he claims to give the three opinions current at the first appearance of the letter: "At Alexandria the Greek Epistle was held to be not directly but mediately St. Paul's, as either a free translation of his words or a reproduction of his thoughts. In North Africa it was known to some extent as the work of Barnabas and acknowledged as a secondary authority. At Rome and in western Europe it was not included in the collection of the Epistles of St. Paul and had no Apostolic weight." For a long time the Eastern Church was much more favorably disposed toward the Pauline authorship than the Western Church, tho the West was not without advocates of Pauline authorship. As intimated, that advocacy still persists.

Only a few points of internal evidence will be presented in

this paper, and they are not given to establish Paul's authorship, but rather to prove that in regard to many individual elements of style it was just as possible for Paul to have written Hebrews as it was for him to have written some of the letters assigned to him, if some of his other letters are taken as a standard for those particular constructions.

Before presenting these facts, let me say in general that it is a difficult matter to compare Paul's works as a whole with anything, because each letter is a unit, written at a separate time, to a distinct church or person, for a distinct purpose, on a distinct subject, and therefore there need be no uniformity of practice in any single particular. This fact has been too generally overlooked. One object of this paper is to emphasize it.

#### VOCABULARY.

In speaking of Hebrews, Westcott says on p. XLIV of his Introduction: "The language of the Epistle is both in vocabulary and style purer and more vigorous than that of any other book of the New Testament." "The vocabulary is singularly copious." But he is forced to add: "In the Pastoral Epistles, however, the proportion is still greater." Upon Thayer's list of "words peculiar to individual New Testament writers" I base my figures. Paul uses words peculiar to himself an average of 6.62 to the page. The average number of words to the page peculiar to Hebrews is 8. When we compare Paul with Paul, we find only four to the page in his larger works, while his Pastoral Epistles show an average of 11 to the page. It is quite clear that the difference between 4 and 11, the low and high averages of Paul, is greater than the difference between 8, the average of Hebrews, and either 4 or 11, and much greater than between 8 and 6.62, the average of all Paul's works; and there are probably greater discrepancies in Paul's individual letters. It is not fair, therefore, to deny the Pauline authorship of Hebrews upon the basis of the large use of words not found elsewhere.

This analysis might be carried further and account taken of the distinction between different classes of peculiar words. In general, it is easily evident without a count that the words most commonly peculiar to Hebrews among the New Testament books

are those which are good Greek words found also in the Septuagint.

On p. XLVI of his Introduction Westcott says: "The absence of some words, e. g., πληρουν, εὐαγγέλιον, οἰκοδομεῖν, μυστήριον, σύν is remarkable." He is referring to Hebrews. Over against this statement I desire to call attention to Paul's use of each word in the list just given. The Pauline πληρουν is not found in I Cor., I Thess., I Tim. or Philem. among the works of Paul; it occurs only once each in Gal., II Thess., II Tim., twice in II Cor., and from 4 to 6 times in Rom., Col., Phil., Eph. Certainly I Cor. is no less Paul's than Rom., even tho it lacks πληρουν. εὐαγγέλιον is a common Pauline word, but here too there is great variety. Titus has no example of it; there is one each in Philem. and I Tim.; there are two each in Col. and II Thess. The short Phil. of 6 pp. has as many occurrences as the much longer Rom. of 26 pp. and more than either of the Cor. of 24 pp. and 17 pp. respectively. Phil. of 6 pp. and Gal. of 9 pp. together have as many as the two Cor., and I Thess. of 6 pp. has as many as I Cor. of 24 pp. οἰκοδομεῖν is used 8 times by Paul, 5 of the occurrences being in I Cor., one each in Rom., Gal., I Thess., none in the rest of his letters including II Cor., which is almost as long as Hebrews. μυστήριον is lacking in half of Paul's letters, II Cor., Gal., Phil., I Thess., II Tim., Titus, Philem. σύν will be discussed under prepositions.

Westcott continues: "The writer (of Hebrews) does not use Paul's rhetorical forms τί οὖν, τί γάρ, ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις, μὴ γένοιτο, ἄρα οὖν, οὐκ οἶδατε. On the other hand, we notice the peculiar phrases ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, εἰς τὸ δεηκέας, ἔλαθον ξενίσαντες and the particle ὅθεν."

Here again Paul must be compared with himself. His rhetorical τί οὖν occurs most often in Rom., 9 times, 4 times in I Cor., once in Gal., and nowhere else in his letters. The rhetorical τί γάρ is found in Paul only 5 times, twice in I Cor., once each in Rom., II Cor., Phil. Paul uses his rhetorical expression, ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις, just once, I Cor. 15. 35. μὴ γένοιτο occurs 10 times in Rom., once in I Cor., 3 times in Gal., and nowhere else in Paul. ἄρα οὖν is found 8 times in Rom., once each in Gal., Eph., I Thess., II Thess., 12 in all the works of Paul. Paul uses οὐκ οἶδατε only in Rom.,

once, and in I Cor. 10 times. The form *οἶδαμεν* is used by the author of Hebrews just as it is by other writers of the period.

It is readily seen that these rhetorical forms are found in a bare majority of Paul's letters, mostly in Rom., and Gal., and I Cor. Only one of them appears in II Cor., and not one in Col. or the Pastoral Epistles.

Of the expressions mentioned by Westcott as being peculiar to Hebrews, *ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν* occurs once, Heb. 7. 9, the only occurrence in the New Testament; *εἰς τὸ διηγεῖσθαι* is found only in Hebrews, once in chap. 7 and 3 times in chap. 10, always in connection with sacrifice or purification, an expression needed and expected in connection with the subject of the letter; *ἐλάβον χάριτας* occurs just once, neither word being found elsewhere in Hebrews, and not at all in Paul; *ἴδεν* appears 6 times in Hebrews, 4 times in Matt., 3 times in Acts, and once each in Luke and I John.

*ἴδεν* 6 times in Hebrews and not at all in Paul's letters sounds plausible to the scholars who claim that Paul could not have written Hebrews. I ask you to recall how freakish Paul can be. As above noted, he uses *οὐκ οἶδατε* 10 times in I Cor. and only once in all his other letters; he uses *μὴ γένοιτο* 10 times in Rom. and 4 times in the rest of his works; he uses *ἀρα οὖν* 8 times in Rom. and 4 times elsewhere, *τί οὖν* 9 times in Rom. and 5 times in other letters. If the author of Hebrews was not Paul, like Paul he occasionally took a fancy to an expression and made free use of it.

#### PARTICLES.

Many other scholars beside Westcott refer to these expressions in arguing against the Pauline authorship of Hebrews. Dods in his Introduction to the Epistle in the Expositor's Greek Testament quotes from Rendall's Theology of Hebrew Christianity, who makes a "minute comparison of connecting particles, inasmuch as these determine the structure of sentences." He says: "Now in the Epistles of St. Paul *εἰ τις* occurs 50 times, *εἰτε* 63 times, *ποτε* (in affirmative clauses) 19, *εἰτα* (in enumerations) 6, *εἰ δὲ καὶ* 4, *εἰπερ* 5, *ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ* 3, *εἴγε* 4, *μήπως* 12, *μηκέτι* 10, *μενούργε* 3, *ἐάν* 83, while none of these are found in the Epistle of Hebrews except *ἐάν*, and that only once (or twice) except in quotations. On the other hand, *ἴδεν* which

occurs 6 times and *ἐάντερ* which occurs 3 times in the Epistle are never used by St. Paul."

An analysis of these facts and figures shows that of the 50 occurrences of *εἰ τις* in Paul, 18 are found in I Cor. of 24 pp., only 3 in Rom. of 26 pp., and none in Col. of 6 pp., I Thess. of 6 pp., II Tim. of 5 pp. Likewise most of the 63 or 64

uses of *εἴτε* are found in the two Cor., 41 in all, 27 of them in I Cor. Several of the letters have only one or two and there are none at all in Gal. of 9 pp. or in any of the Pastoral Epistles of 16 pp. Paul's use of *ποτε* is interesting.

He uses it 4 times in Gal. of 9 pp., 6 times in Eph. of 9 pp., and only 3 times in Rom. of 26 pp., once in I Cor. of 24 pp., and not at all in II Cor. of 17 pp. Neither is it found in I Thess. nor in either letter to Timothy. Furthermore, *ποτε* does occur twice in the first chapter of Hebrews, both times, to be sure, in an interrogative sentence, but in neither case as an interrogative particle. The six occurrences of *εἰτα* in enumerations in Paul are all in I Cor. and I Tim. There is one *εἰτα* in Hebrews, 12. 9, not in an enumeration of figures, but in an enumeration of arguments, with the meaning of 'further,' 'yet again.'

Ten of Paul's letters lack the combination *εἰ δὲ καί*, 9 do not have *εἴπερ*, and 11 are without *ἐκτὸς εἰ μή*. The 4 occurrences of *εἴγε* are limited to 3 of his letters, and the 10 occurrences of *μήπως* are confined to 4 letters, 5 of them being in II Cor. *μηκέτι* is lacking in 8 letters, and *μενούργε* is found only in Rom. and Phil. The statement of Rendall quoted by Dods shows that Paul is very fond of *ἐάν*: he has used it 83 times, yet 4 of his letters do not use it at all, Phil. 6 pp., II Thess. 3 pp., Titus 3 pp., Philem. 1 p. Of his 83 examples, 40 are in I Cor., 17 in Rom., 7 in II Cor., 6 in Gal., 1 in Eph. Gal. and Eph. have 9 pp. each, and Rom. has 2 pp. more than I Cor. *ὅθεν* has already been discussed. *ἐάντερ* is used twice in Hebrews and nowhere else in the New Testament, just as *μενούργε* mentioned above is found 3 times in Paul and nowhere else in the N. T.

Continuing the study of particles, Mr. L. W. Harvison of our graduate class has found that of 28 possible words of this class, Paul has used 26, all but *ὅθεν* and *καίτοι*, the author of Hebrews has used 22, omitting *ἀρα οὖν*, *διόπερ*, *μέντοι*, *μενούργε*, *γε*, *ἀρα*. The average number of these particles to the p. is for



Hebrews 10.24, for Paul 12.79. Paul's percentages for his different letters range from 16.71 in I Cor. to 3.33 in Col. The usage of Hebrews is the same as Paul's in Phil., II Tim., and Philem., and practically the same as in I Tim. and I Thess. The average of Hebrews is higher than Paul's in II Thess., Eph., Titus, Col., and lower than the average in Rom., I and II Cor., and Gal., the most Pauline letters. In number of different particles Hebrews leads with 22, Rom. has 20, I Cor. 19, II Cor. 16. Of the particles used by Hebrews and not by Paul, *οθεν* has been discussed and *καίτοι* occurs but once, in fact, only twice in all the New Testament. Of the particles used by Paul and not by Hebrews, *ἀρα οὖν* and *μενούργε* have been disposed of; *δοῶπερ* occurs twice in I Cor. and nowhere else in Paul or the N. T.; *μέντοι* is cited once for all Paul; *γε* including all its combinations is found 14 times in Paul, 5 of them being in Rom., none at all appearing in I and II Thess. or in the Pastoral Epistles; the interrogative *ἀρα* occurs once in Paul.

Now comparing the more common particles, we find in every case that Paul's average practice is nearer the practice of Hebrews than that of some of his own letters. Hebrews leads in the percentage occurrences of *γάρ* 3.40 to 3.09, also in the combination *καὶ γάρ* .24 to .15, and they are exactly parallel in the use of *εἰ γάρ*, .2 each. Of course Paul varies in the use of his combinations: 12 of his 19 *καὶ γάρ*'s occur in I and II Cor., and 11 of his 24 *εἰ γάρ*'s are found in Rom. Several of his letters are without one or the other and 4 are without both.

In the use of *δέ* Paul leads, 4.43 to 1.9. Hebrews, on the other hand, has a larger percentage of *μέν*—*δέ*, .66 to .33, which might indicate better balance and finish on the part of Hebrews. Upon examination, however, we find that Paul's usage in I Cor., Phil., and II Tim. exactly parallels the usage in Hebrews, tho in 6 of his letters Paul does not use the combination at all.

Paul has a slightly higher average in the use of *οὖν*, .79 to .50. In the combination *μὲν οὖν* Heb. leads .14 to .05, but there again the average in Heb. just corresponds to the average of Paul in I Cor. and is below Paul's average in Phil., .14 to .33.

The adversative particle *ἀλλά*, likewise, is found more often in Paul than in Heb., 2.29 to .76, or a difference in favor of Paul of 3 to 1. Yet even here, at least one of Paul's letters, Col., falls below Heb. with a per-

centage of .5. Even in the use of the balancing antithetic group, *οὐ μόνον—ἀλλὰ καί*, Paul has a higher average than Heb., .23 to .05. However, in at least five of his letters, including I Cor., he does not use the combination at all. His inconsistency is shown from the fact that in Rom. of 26 pp. he uses this combination 11 times and not once in I Cor. of 24 pp. 8.6 shows an average occurrence of .43 in Heb. and .22 in Paul, yet in II Cor., Eph., and Philem. Paul's averages are respectively .51, .55, and 1., greater in each case than that of Heb., while on the other hand, the particle is omitted from 5 of Paul's letters. *τε* is found relatively more in Heb. than in Paul, but not a great deal in either. It is used freely in the N. T. only in Acts. The averages for *τε* solitarium are Paul .04, Heb. .14; for *τε—τε* Paul .03, Heb. .095; for *τε—καί* Paul .12, Heb. .62. Eight of Paul's letters do not use *τε* at all, yet Rom. averages up well with Heb., *τε* .08 to .14, *τε—τε* .11 to .095, *τε—καί* .42 to .62. The author of Rom. is very much more like the author of Heb. than he is like Paul in the other letters ascribed to him as far as *τε* is concerned. All N. T. writers make scant use of *δέ*. Paul and Hebrews have it once each.

Any claims set up for the artistic superiority of Hebrews as compared with Paul are not well founded as far as particles are concerned, unless one picks out individual letters of Paul for each particle. The artistic skill should appear especially in the combinations of particles, but in every case Paul is equal to Hebrews in one or more of his letters, and in every case more consistent with Hebrews than epistle by epistle with himself.

#### PREPOSITIONS.

Of the 32 prepositions and prepositional adverbs used in the N. T., Paul has 10 not found in Hebrews and Hebrews has 2 not found in Paul. Most of those not found in both are prepositional adverbs and occur from 1 to 4 times. The one exception is *σύν* which Paul uses 38 times and Hebrews not at all. *σύν* is not common in the N. T., only Luke and Paul using it with any frequency. See Blass's Grammar, Thackeray's translation, p. 132, and Clark, Prepositions in N. T. Greek, p. 46. In keeping with the nature of this investigation, where do these 38 *σύν*'s

of Paul appear? They are distributed among 8 letters, not one being found in II Thess. or in the Pastoral Epistles. Gal. of 9 pp. and Phil. of 6 pp. have as many examples each as Rom. of 26 pp., while Col. of 6 pp. has more than Rom. of 26 pp. and as many as I Cor. of 24 pp. and II Cor. of 17 pp.

The other prepositions which have the greatest number of occurrences correspond very well in their averages in Paul and Hebrews, except the preposition *ἐν*. I write the percentage of Paul first each time: *ἀπό* .82: 1.09; *ἀνά* 2.2: 2.7; *ἐκ* 3.28: 3.52; *ἐκ* (ξ) 1.61: 1.; *ἐπί* .99: 1.4; *κατά* 1.43: 1.9; *μετά* .515: 1.09; *παρά* .29: .48; *περί* .375: 1.09; *πρός* 1.11: .86; *ὑπέρ* .765: .48; *ὑπό* .58: .43. Not only are these averages close, but the detailed averages for these prepositions with the several cases are equally close: *ἀνά* with gen. 1.39: 1.81, w. acc. .64: .81; *ἐπί* w. gen. .19: .34, w. dat. .38: .48, w. acc. .38: .57; *κατά* w. gen. .11: .10, w. acc. 1.24: 1.62; *μετά* w. gen. .50: .67, w. acc. .03: .43; *παρά* w. gen. .09: 0, w. dat. .11: 0, w. acc. .11: .48; *περί* w. gen. .39: .95, w. acc. .055: 0; *ὑπέρ* w. gen. .65: .43, w. acc. .086: .048; *ὑπό* w. gen. .33: .43, w. acc. .17: 0. It does not seem necessary to analyze these figures for Paul's individual letters as has been done above. Suffice it to say that the same general conditions previously stated exist.

Of course, it is well known, as Moulton has pointed out, Grammar of N. T. Greek, Vol. I<sup>3</sup>, p. 61, that "Greek is . . . marked . . . by the very free use of prepositions. This characteristic is most obviously intensified in Hellenistic, where we are perpetually finding prepositional phrases used to express relations which in classical Greek would have been adequately given by a case alone." In N. T. Greek we find *ἐκ* making wonderful inroads into the territory of *ἐν*, and *ἐν* is making still greater inroads into the territory of *ἐκ* and taking up other uses to which it was not the rightful heir. This intermixture is quite marked in narrative writers of the N. T., except Matt. and to some extent in John. "The epistles," says Blass, l. c., p. 123 (39. 3), "show at least in the local signification a correct discrimination between *ἐκ* and *ἐν*." Blass does not distinguish here between the epistles of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews. The occurrences of *ἐκ* in Paul and Hebrews are on an equality as to number, 3.28 to 3.52, giving Hebrews a slight majority relatively. On the other hand, Paul used *ἐν* much more freely,

7.36 to 3.05. Here then, where Paul used more than twice as many *ἐν*'s to the page as Hebrews, how does he compare with himself? His Gal. and Eph. have the same number of chapters and the same number of pp., yet the former has 41 occurrences of *ἐν*, the latter 119; Phil. and Col. likewise correspond as to the quantity of Greek, but the former has 63 *ἐν*'s, the latter 89; both Phil. and Col. are distinctly shorter than Gal., but they have each more occurrences of *ἐν*: Phil. 63, Col. 89, Gal. 41. Every letter of Paul's has a higher percentage of *ἐν*'s than Hebrews, but there is quite a range between Gal. and Titus on the one hand with a percentage of 4.55 and Eph. with 13.22 and Col. with 14.83 on the other hand.

One of Paul's pet phrases, *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*, which he uses 48 times, helps to swell the number of *ἐν*'s, and it may be urged that this phrase marks another ground of distinction between Paul and Heb. Passing over the fact of difference in subject-matter, or content, we find that Paul is not consistent with himself. The expression is not found in II Cor. of 17 pp., nor in II Thess., nor in Titus, and there is marked variation in his other letters, some of the shorter ones using the expression more often than the longer ones.

In regard to the uses of the dat. with *ἐν* in other than simple local meanings, Paul has 12 such instances in Rom. of 26 pp., and Heb. of 21 pp. has 11. Thus Paul in Rom. is nearer Heb. in this respect than he is to any of his other letters.

It would seem, then, as far as prepositions are concerned, even including *σύν* and *ἐν*, that Paul, the writer of some epistles, could have written Hebrews just as well as he could have written other epistles assigned to him. In the use of every preposition Paul differs with himself as much as he differs with Hebrews.

#### THE ARTICLE WITH PROPER NAMES.

In his Master's thesis on The Article with Proper Names in N. T. Greek, Mr. E. W. McLaurin says: "Paul and the author of Hebrews use the anarthrous construction exclusively with indeclinable place-names." In the same authors "declinable place-names also omit the article more frequently than they have it, except in I. Thess., where the articular construction prevails in the proportion of 5 to 2." For Hebrews "The ratio of the

anarthrous to the articular in declinable place-names is 3 to 2." "Paul uses 10 anarthrous declinable place-names and no declinable place-names with the article in II Tim., whereas the ratio in I Thess. is 2 to 5, . . . with books all the varying distances between. . . . Hebrews would have about the same ratio as II Cor. or Gal.," and that is about Paul's average.

"With indeclinable personal names in Paul's epistles, sometimes the articular and sometimes the anarthrous construction occurs more frequently. Hebrews prefers the anarthrous construction 33 to 4." Hebrews has a greater proportion of anarthrous occurrences than Rom., I Cor., Gal. and Eph., but a smaller proportion than II Cor., Phil., and II Tim. "With declinable personal names, Paul more often uses the anarthrous construction, usually showing a decided preference for that construction. But Eph. is an equally strong exception where the articular construction prevails 22 to 7. Hebrews shows a preference of 22 to 8 for the anarthrous construction."

The results regarding double names are relatively the same.

#### ARTICULAR INFINITIVE.

I shall let Mr. Sam L. Joekel, The Articular Infinitive in N. T. Greek (Un. Tex. Master's Thesis), state his own conclusions on the question of the articular infinitive: "A comparison between the figures of Paul's epistles and those for Hebrews shows some interesting coincidences. The general averages for Paul and Hebrews are two of the highest in the N. T., Hebrews leading with an average of 1.09. Paul's average is .89." "The averages in Phil. and the two Thess. far exceed that of the other epistles of Paul, as they do that of Hebrews. On the other hand, nearly all the rest of Paul's epistles fall far below the average of Hebrews, and the Pastorals and Col. show no examples whatever." "With regard to individual constructions, the nom. and the acc., both with and without the preposition, lead in both Paul and Hebrews."

These conclusions are borne out by the following summary of figures worked out by Mr. Joekel:

	Gen.	Acc. & prep.	Dat. & prep.	Nom. & acc.	Dat.	Average
Rom.	9	16	2	5	0	1.24
I Cor.	2	7	1	5	0	.62
II Cor.	3	4	0	9	1	.94
Gal.	3	1	1	0	0	.62
Eph.	0	3	0	0	0	.33
Phil.	3	2	0	11	0	2.66
I Thess.	0	7	0	4	0	2.10
II Thess.	0	6	0	0	0	2.00
Col. & Pastorals	0	0	0	0	0	
Heb.	5	9	4	3	0	1.00

## CONDITIONS.

An examination of conditional sentences as worked out by Mr. John Barrow, of the Seminar in Greek N. T., yields similar results. Paul uses simple conditions more freely than the author of Hebrews, 1.18 to the page as against .38 for Heb., but he is wholly inconsistent in his several letters; 83 of his 151 examples are in Rom. and I Cor., which constitute considerably less than half of his corpus, while Eph. of 9 pp. has no simple condition, and Gal., which is of the same length, uses this form 15 times. *ei* with the pres. ind. is the most generally used form of this condition in both Paul and Heb. Paul, however, uses *ei* with pres. ind. 27 times in I Cor. of 24 pp. and only 12 times in Rom. of 26 pp. Heb. has as much variety in simple conditions as any of Paul's letters except Rom. and has about the same average as all the letters other than Rom., I and II Cor., and Gal.

The general proportion of apodosis for the simple condition is about the same as for the protasis, 1.13 to .38, the distribution and variety being about the same. Likewise the forms of apodosis that prevail in Paul, the pres. ind., fut. ind., and verb omitted, prevail also in Heb. The imperative, which Paul uses fairly frequently, does not occur in Heb. It is also lacking in 5 of Paul's letters, and is used only once in Rom. of 26 pp. and II Cor. of 17 pp., while I Cor. of 24 pp. has it 14 times and I Tim. of 7 pp. has it 5 times.

Paul uses the pres. gen. conditions a little more freely than Heb., .44 to .24, but here again most of the examples, 47 of the 61, are in Rom. and I Cor. II Cor. has one more than Heb.; Gal., I Thess., I Tim. have only one each, while Eph., Phil.,

II Thess., Titus, and Philem. have none. Of the 5 uses by Heb. 4 are not found in Paul, but the 8 different forms used in 1 each of Paul's letters are not found elsewhere in him or in Heb. The same conditions prevail in the apodosis. The situation is reversed in the unreal conditions, Heb. having a larger proportion, .24 to .07. Paul uses this condition in only 3 of his letters. Rom., the longest of his letters, has 1 occurrence; Gal., about one-third as long, has 3; and I Cor. of 24 pp. has just as many as Heb. of 21 pp. The prevailing form in both Paul and Heb. is *ei* with the impf. The apodosis follows the same lines.

In the future more vivid condition Paul again has a larger proportion, .33 to .14. Of his 43 occurrences 29 are in Rom. and I Cor. This condition is entirely lacking in Phil., Titus, and Philem. There is one in Eph., a doubtful one in I Thess., and 2 in II Cor. of 17 pp. as compared with 3 in Heb. of 21 pp. Heb. has one form, *ἐάντε* with pres. sub., which is not used by Paul, and Paul has at least 5 forms in as many letters that are not used elsewhere by him or by Heb. The apodosis needs no additional comment.

In general, it is perfectly fair to say that Paul makes larger use of conditions than the writer of Heb., except in the case of the unreal condition, but it is also fair to remark that his higher average is caused by a few of his letters, whereas the majority of them are nearer the average of Heb., and in every case there are letters of Paul that correspond better with Heb. than with Paul.

#### HIATUS.

Reference must be made to one of Blass's strongest points. In his grammar, p. 296 of Thackeray's translation, he says: "The Epistle to the Hebrews is the only piece of writing in the N. T., which in structure of sentence and style shows the care and dexterity of an artistic writer, and so it cannot be wondered at, if it is in this work alone that the principle of avoiding hiatus, is, to some extent, taken into account." Among other cases in which Blass claims that hiatus is studiously avoided *μή*, *δέ*, and the possible forms of the article and the relative are mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These are sufficient for illustration. I count all Hebrews, including quotations and chapter 13, both of which Blass has omitted.

Paul uses  $\mu\eta$  more frequently than Hebrews, 2.19 to the page to 1.33. Paul's use runs as high as 4 to the page in Titus, more than 3 to the p. in II Thess., and nearly 3 to the p. in I Tim. and I Cor. His low average, about one-half that of Hebrews, is .66 in Phil. and .6 in II Tim., and 0 in the one p. of Philem. Now note the relative percentages in Paul and Hebrews between the total number of  $\mu\eta$ 's and  $\mu\eta$  with hiatus. Of Paul's 267 occurrences 113 show hiatus; of Hebrews' 28, 9 show hiatus, a relative percentage of .42 to .32, a difference of .1. Paul's highest percentage of  $\mu\eta$ 's showing hiatus as compared with the total is .66 found in II Tim. Five of his letters have .5 or .5 plus, four have .4 or .4 plus, while II Cor. has .32—exactly the percentage of Hebrews—and Gal. has only .25, these last two being among the most Pauline of Paul's works. The page proportions also are interesting. Paul's percentage of  $\mu\eta$ 's showing hiatus is .92 to the p., Hebrews .43. Comparing Paul's works, his highest percentage is 1.66 in II Thess. and Titus. Gal. has practically the same as Hebrews, .44 to .43, II Tim. is just below with .4, and Phil. goes down to .33. From the foregoing it appears that Paul uses  $\mu\eta$  more frequently than Hebrews in the proportion of 2.19 per page to 1.33; his percentage of all  $\mu\eta$ 's to  $\mu\eta$  with hiatus is .42 to .32 in Hebrews; his page percentage of hiatus  $\mu\eta$  is better than that of Hebrews, .92 to .43: but in every case he is more at variance with himself than he is with Hebrews both in his extremes and in his general averages. Can we, therefore, justly claim more artistic work on the part of the author of Hebrews in the avoidance of hiatus with  $\mu\eta$  than for Paul in some of his works, notably Gal., II Tim., and Phil.?

In the case of  $\delta\omega$ , Paul's numbers are proportionally lower, .14 to .43. In the proportion between the totals of  $\delta\omega$  and those showing hiatus, Paul and Heb. are practically parallel, .4 to .33, but Paul's average to the page is less than that of Heb., .09 to .14. In 5 of Paul's letters  $\delta\omega$  does not occur. In two it occurs once each and in one twice: in none of these four is there hiatus. In some of the remaining letters the page percentage of hiatus avoidance is below that of Heb.: Gal., .11 to .14, Rom. .077 to .14, I Cor. .04 to .14. The proportion of hiatus occurrences to the total occurrences is slightly higher in Gal. and in I Cor. and II Cor. In Eph. it is .4 to Heb. .33, in Rom. it is just .33.



The forms of the article and of the relative taken into account in hiatus are:  $\delta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\tau\acute{o}$ ,  $\tau\acute{o}\omega$ ,  $\tau\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\tau\eta$ ,  $\alpha\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\alpha\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\alpha\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\alpha\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\eta$ . Blass has found 52 cases of hiatus with these forms in those portions of Heb. which he has counted, just 4 to the page. The average to the page for Paul, exclusive of Rom. and I Cor., which I have not counted, is 5.97. Paul's highest average is in the little one-page Philem., which has 11 cases of hiatus; the next highest is Col., 8.33, then II Thess. 8, and so on down to Titus, 4.33, just above the average of Heb., and finally I Tim. with only 2.59. Here Paul is nearly as far below Heb. as Heb. is below Paul's average, 3 to the page below his own average, and more than 8 to the page below his maximum in Philem. Whatever the cause, Paul has avoided hiatus with forms of the article and relative more than Hebrews in at least one of his letters, I Tim. It is not impossible to believe that he might have been equally successful in Hebrews.\*

I cannot contend that either the author of Hebrews or Paul studiously avoided hiatus, tho one gets that feeling for both at times when looking for examples of its occurrence. There are many considerations that enter in as determining factors, *e. g.*, the use or omission of the article, the use of prepositional phrases, such as  $\epsilon\iota$  with the dative, or  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  with the accusative, between the article and the noun, and strikingly the occurrence of certain words beginning with vowels which are demanded by the subject-matter of the letter. One illustration of this point will suffice. Recall from the early part of this paper that  $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$  does not occur in Hebrews. It occurs as many as 9 times in some of Paul's letters. He does not use it in Titus and only once in I Tim., the two works nearest Hebrews in the use of hiatus.

I have the temerity to present these facts and figures and express these views in the face of Westcott's statement, Introduction, p. LXXVIII, that "the Epistle cannot be the work of St. Paul"; of the statement of Dods in the Expositor's text, Vol. 4, p. 224, "the bare reading of the Epistle suffices to convince us that the Pauline authorship may be set aside as incredible"; of the equally positive statement of Peake in his Introduction, p. 28, "nothing is so certain with respect to the

\* Blass has made other counts for hiatus which may be passed over for the present.

authorship as a negative conclusion that it was not written by Paul"; and of many other similar statements by excellent scholars. After Dods has given an excellent résumé of the differences between Paul and Hebrews, he says, in a footnote, quoting from Rendall's *Theology*: "Diversity of style is more easily felt by the reader than expressed by the critic, without at least a tedious analysis of language; one simple and tangible test presents itself, however, in the use of connecting particles, inasmuch as these determine the structure of sentences." He then gives that array of particles which I gave earlier in the paper and which I tried to dispose of by the double comparison of Paul with Hebrews and Paul with Paul.

There are a great many other problems requiring investigation—some of which have been mentioned—before we can claim with positiveness that it was not impossible for Paul to have written Hebrews. When that conclusion has been reached, it will be time to begin a constructive attempt to sift the evidence and establish the fact of the Pauline authorship of Hebrews.

DANIEL A. PENICK.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.

## VI.—THE FIRST ODE OF HORACE.

Some years ago the writer made a somewhat careful analysis of the Odes of Horace, chiefly for use in his own classroom. The purpose of the classification was purely practical, *i. e.*, to arrange the Odes in a limited number of easily recognizable and namable groups, in order to assist the young student in grasping the meaning of the individual Odes, each as a whole. The classification is not precisely logical, and a few more topics might have been admitted (*e. g.*, War, Dramatic Lyrics, Allegorical, Early Roman History, Legend, and Custom). But for the particular purpose in hand brevity was desirable, and the list as constituted seemed to cover, substantially, the contents of all the Odes. It is as follows:

- I. Patriotic and National, including praise of Augustus.
- II. Religious, including hymns and prayers to the gods.
- III. Philosophical and Gnostic, especially Ethical, including "the golden mean" and the doctrine of contentment.
- IV. Wine and Conviviality, including *carpe diem*.
- V. Love Poems, including attacks on women.
- VI. Bucolic or Idyllic (in a broad sense, requiring some special definition).
- VII. Mythological Tales (a very small group, but definite and specific).
- VIII. The Glory and Power of Poetry.
- IX. Personal Addresses; Poems of Friendship (this group also requires some special definition).
- X. Praise of Places (like Group VII, a very small group, but definite and specific).
- XI. Occasional Pieces of the Poet's own Life and Experience, including prologues and epilogues (also requires a little special definition).

This old classification was recalled to the writer's mind by an article by Professor Martin that appeared comparatively recently in *Classical Philology* (April, 1918), entitled *Remarks on the First Ode of Horace*.

The object of the article referred to—to use one of its writer's own phrases in alluding to the interpretations of the First Ode by other scholars—is to get at “the point and purpose of its composition.” This he does by likening the Ode to “a cause of the *genus deliberativum*, perhaps, in which vss. 1, 2 are the *exordium*, vss. 3-34 the *probatio*, and vss. 35, 36 the *peroratio*,” and he analyzes, outlines, and comments upon the poem on this basis. It is not necessary here to go further into the details of the article, but attention is called to another and perhaps simpler way of looking at the poem in the light of the present writer's analysis of the contents of all the Odes, to which reference has just been made.

As an immediate preliminary to this possibly “simpler” way of dealing with Ode i, it may be said that there is no necessary or essential quarrel between Professor Martin and the present writer—at least not throughout. They are simply not working in quite the same way and to the same end. The former is working mainly beneath the surface, to get at the subtle, inner meaning and implication of the words; the latter is seeking first of all to account for and analyze the material that goes into each Ode taken primarily in its surface meaning, though not disregarding inner meanings and implications ultimately. For example, with regard to the First Ode as a whole and its general purpose, Professor Martin says: “the purpose, . . . , of the poem is not to defend the poet's calling, . . . , nor yet to dedicate the first three books of odes, . . . , but simply to express the hope that he may be regarded as the lyric poet of Rome corresponding to Alcaeus among the Greeks and to that end bespeak the sympathy of Maecenas,” which all rests upon detailed special interpretation. The present writer, on the other hand, with no opposition to this except to the statement that the purpose is not “to dedicate the first three books of odes” (which perhaps the writer of it did not mean, as he was writing of the purpose “in the sense of outstanding thought”), starts out simply from the generally obvious facts that the poem is a dedication of and introduction to the following series, and then seeks to analyze the contents, primarily in their plain surface meaning, under several pre-defined heads—to which others would be added, if they anywhere appeared as essential. It is assumed that the alleged facts are “obvious” from (1) the address to Maecenas

at the beginning and again, without the latter here being named, at the end, (2) from the position of the Ode at the beginning of the collection—alongside of the similar addressing of Maecenas at the beginning of the Epodes, the Satires, and the Epistles—, and (3) from the general character of the surface contents of the piece.

To repeat in part, it should be noted in what follows that the detailed facts brought out came out quite naturally and inevitably, without being sought for to support any particular interpretation of the Ode as a whole, in the course of an analysis made primarily simply to see what material—material taken as it comes and primarily in its plain surface meaning, with no search for subtleties—the Ode contained. This fact adds to the interest, if not to the convincingness, of the results.

That Horace is a careful and painstaking writer is known to all. He tells us so himself, and it is obvious on every page of every department of his writings. Each word is chosen with care; the writer's *curiosa felicitas* (which means careful choosing and the ability to choose the one apt and right word) was noticed from the first; his connections, except where they are deliberately abrupt, as they sometimes are (perhaps especially in the Satires), are carefully and nicely made. Each Ode is a polished gem. Now the First Ode, as remarked just above, was evidently written as an introduction to the collection, and its material (the opening and closing addresses to Maecenas, intended to serve as a dedication, quite possibly added after the rest of the Ode was completed, as was long since pointed out; and the theme of the wide variety of the tastes and ambitions of men, intended to serve the purpose of emphasizing the distinction of Horace's ambition from those of other men) was admirably chosen to serve this purpose.

But is this quite all? The allusion to wars and camps (23-25) at least suggests the theme of patriotism. There are slight touches of religion in allusions to the gods (6 and 30). The general theme of the variety of tastes (3-34) may be regarded as gnomic or philosophical. There is a touch of wine and conviviality (the man who does not disdain to take a part from the solid day with cups of old Massic; 19-22). There are also touches of love and the country (the tender wife, 26; the green arbutus tree and the springs of holy water, 21 f.; the cool groves

and the dancing of the nymphs and the satyrs, 30 f.; etc.). The last few lines touch on the glory of poetry. By reason of its address to Maecenas the piece goes into group 9 as defined above. And the poem is an "occasional" one, as that term has been defined.

Now can this be accidental? These several topics or characteristics make up nine of the eleven that constitute the complete list given above for the contents of the Odes; the only ones that are not represented are those of the two very small and special groups, 7 (mythological tales) and 10 (praise of places); there are no other plain surface topics introduced in the piece except as or in mere illustrations; and no other single Ode contains quite so wide a range of material according to the specified style and standard of analysis. Does it not look, then, very much as if Horace, having finished the collection of three books of Odes, sat down to compose, with care and pains, combined—perhaps as an afterthought—with a dedication to Maecenas, an introduction that should really introduce the collection by indicating to the careful reader not merely the poet's general aim and purpose in writing, but in considerable detail the precise field covered? One cannot be certain, of course, but it is either design or a curious and remarkable chance.

J. W. D. INGERSOLL.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

## VII.—SOPHOCLES PHILOCTETES 1360-61.

The context shows that Philoctetes is thinking of the probability, if not certainty, that Odysseus and the Atreidae will continue to be *κακοί* in Troy as they were *κακοί* in Lemnos when they abandoned him on the desert island (1356). Any attempt to restore the text without keeping this fact constantly in view must result in failure. At the end of his entreaty (1369 f.) the sufferer repeats the thought: *ἔα κακῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι κακοὺς . . . καὶ κακοὺς ἐπωφελῶν δόξεις ὁμοίους τοῖς κακοῖς πεφυκέναι*.

The passage has been variously *mis*-understood. Hermann's interpretation of the text is impossible. The other three explanations (1. Brunck and Buttmann, 2. Musgrave, 3. Schneidewin) are, to say the least, extremely improbable. Of the numerous emendations, Wakefield's is the only one that alters *παιδεύει*. Jebb, Reiske, Seyffert, Meineke, Dobree, Erfurdt, and others, change some other word, or words.

My conviction is that the seat of the corruption is in *παιδεύει*. The patent meaning of the verse is: *ἐὰν γνώμη κακῶν μήτηρ γένηται, τᾶλλα γ' ἂ τίττει κακὰ (ἔσται)*. The context alone proves this. Consequently, what we want is some verb like *τίττει*, *φτιτεύει*, *φέρει*, to replace *παιδεύει*. But, since Sophocles does not always continue the metaphor to the very end of the thought (and here *μήτηρ γένηται* is merely a poetical expression for *ἀπαξ φρονῆ*), the lost verb is probably one that corresponds to our 'meditate,' 'cogitate.' I suggest *εἰλύει* (*uoluit*). The scribe that unwittingly wrought the change misread ΓΕΙΑΥΕΙ as ΠΑΙΑΔΕΥΕΙ (Π for Γ and Δ for Α, as often). In fact, this very word was converted into *εἰδύει* by some copyist: "eodemque modo ab eod. vitiose scriptum εἰδύει" (*Thesaurus*, s. v.).

The Homeric verb *εἰλύειν* is not used by any other tragic poet, and by Sophocles only in the *Philoctetes*, where it occurs three times. This rare word would naturally cause some mistake in copying; and the not dissimilar *παιδεύει* seemed to be a fitting word after *μήτηρ γένηται*. In early times there were doubtless other manuscripts which preserved the true reading. A comparison of these MSS would tend to show that the general sense

of the passage was 'when one's mind brings forth bad children, they are generally brought up bad.' Hence one meaning given to εἰλύν would be ἐκτρέφειν. Curiously enough, this is just what has happened, for one signification assigned to εἰλύν by the lexicographers is ἐκτρέφω, on which the writer in the Thesaurus remarks: "sed habet praeterea . . . et κτυπεῖ, item ἐκτρέφει. At quid de his exp. tam diversis a praecedente sentiendum est? . . . Praesertim tamen de duabus exp. id a me dictum intelligi volo, sc. κτυπεῖ et ἐκτρέφει."

The metaphor in εἰλύν is common to all languages, and even if no exact parallel could be found in Greek, we would be justified in substituting this verb for παιδεύει in the passage under discussion, for φαίλω is uoluo, and εἰλύν means 'revolves,' 'turns over,' 'invents,' 'meditates,' 'cogitates,' 'conceives.' Indeed, Cicero's characterization of Catiline might be applied to Odysseus by Philoctetes: "quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut excogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit?" (*Cat.* 2. 4. 2). Examples of uoluere (or uolutare) in this sense are numerous (Sallust, Tacitus). So in Italian *volgere* means 'aggirarsi in mente' or 'nell' animo' (= *meditare*). So in French 'rouler en la tête' (Molière, *L'Étourdi* 3. 1), or 'dans l'esprit.' The Spanish *volver* is used in the same way. But we do not have to go to other languages for parallels: the ordinary Greek word στρέφειν has a similar metaphorical use. Cp. Eur. *Hec.* 750 τί στρέφω τάδε; Plato, *Phaedr.* 278 D ἄνω κάτω στρέφων (the Chaucerian 'rollid up and down'), Dion. Hal. 6. 867. 10, Arrian, *Epict.* 4. 6. 15 ἄνω κάτω στρέφω τοὺς προτεινομένους λόγους, 3. 21 καθήμενος αὐτὰ στρέφει αὐτὸς ἐπὶ σαντοῦ, Luc. *Alex.* 8, *De Merc. Cond.* 17, *Dial. Mer.* 10. 2. Consequently, I am inclined to think that Sophocles wrote οἷς γὰρ ἡ γνώμη κακῶν | μήτηρ γένηται, πᾶλλα γ' εἰλύνει κακά, and that the thought is the same (though the metaphor is slightly different) as in Aesch. *Prom.* 888 ἐν γνόμῃ ἐβάστασε. Cp. Ar. *Thesm.* 438 πάσας δ' ἰδέας ἐξήγαγεν, | πάντα δ' ἐβάστασεν φρενί.

A word remains to be said on the connotation of εἰλύν in the other two passages of the play in which the verb occurs. Jebb translates εἰλυόμενῃν (291) 'crawl' and compares Plato, *Tim.* 92 ἰλυοπώμενα ἐπὶ γῆς (the participle here has nothing to do with εἰλύν) and adds: "Thus the notion is different from that of εἰλίποδες (βοῦς), where a 'rolling' gait is meant." In my opin-



ion, it is just this rolling, 'wibbly-wabbly,' tottering gait that the poet has in mind: the limping Philoctetes goes *clopin-clopant*, but he goes also *à cloche-pied* (which in popular etymology at least would be associated with *cloche*, 'a bell'). The sufferer toddles along with uncertain steps like a child *ἀτερ φίλας τιθήνας* (703). If *εἰλυόμενος* means 'creeping' in 702, then *ἔρπε* in 701 is otiose. Moreover, both *παίων* and *τό τοι σὺνηθες ὁρθώσει μ' ἔθος* in 894 indicate that the lame man is making full use of his sound leg (as he naturally would), not placing the knee of this leg against the ground. A man with two sound legs sways slightly from side to side as he moves forward; but in the case of a *boiteux* this swaying motion is much more marked: one who walks *à cloche-pied* describes small circles (*uoluitur*, *εἰλύεται*); the forward movement is spiral, since both feet are not planted equally firmly on the ground. Cp. Molière, *Scap.* 2. 1 "ce vers cloche," that is, "n'est pas sur ses pieds." Even as I write these words I observe from my window a French ex-soldier whose left leg is so maimed that it can almost be said to dangle from the trunk: the nutations of his torso and the oscillations of his legs are just such as I imagine Philoctetes to have made as he *εἰλύετο* dragging after him his *δύστηνον πόδα*. The stick on which he leans is but a poor substitute for a sound leg.

Even in the passages in which *εἰλύω* means *occulto*, the primary meaning of the word appears, for the idea is generally 'envelop' (*inuoluo*, *obuoluo*).

J. E. HARRY.

PARIS, FRANCE.

## REPORTS.

GLOTTA. Volume 10. 1919.

Pp. 1-22. A. Maidhof, Rückwanderer aus den islamitischen Sprachen im Neugriechischen (Smyrna und Umgebung). Words which were originally borrowed from Greek into oriental languages (mostly Arabic and Persian) and thence, mostly thru Turkish, borrowed back into the Greek dialect of Smyrna. Out of 1500 Osmanic loanwords noted by the author in this dialect, about 50 are found to be such 'return-wanderers.'

Pp. 22-23. J. Wackernagel, Zur Etymologie von *βραχύς* und *brevis*. Sogdian *murzak* 'short,' removes all doubt that these words go back to IE. *mǝǝhú-*.

Pp. 23-29. H. Sjögren, Zur Wortstellung *tua Bromia ancilla* und Verw. This word order is not so regular as has been often assumed. It is found in Plautus, Terence and Cicero's Letters principally when the appellative denotes a socially inferior person (*servus, filius*, etc.).

Pp. 30-38. H. Blass, Zum Konjunktiv im Lateinischen. 1. Der Jussivus des Plusquamperfekts. Maintains that the Latin plup. subj. is used in jussive sense, against Methner, *Lat. Synt. d. Verb.* 154.

Pp. 38-62. P. Kretschmer, Mythische Namen. (Continued from Glotta 8. 121.) 6. Tritogeneia und die Tritopatoren. *Τριτογάτωρ*, *-πατρεύς* = 'Urahn,' originally greatgrandfather, 'third father'; then more vaguely 'Stammvater,' 'founder of the family.' *Τριτογενής*, *-γένεια* is a contrasting formation to the above, as it were 'Stammsohn, -tochter,' that is 'echter Nachkomme'; cf. *pronepos* to *proavus*, *grandson* to *grandfather* (contrast the more logical *petit-fils*, Dutch *kleinzoon*). Latin *tritavus* is a conscious and artificial imitation of *τριτογάτωρ*; *trinepos* for *\*tritonepos* a contrasting formation to *tritavus*. *Τριτογένεια* is then the 'genuine, true-born child (of Zeus).' 7. *Ἀργεῖφόντης*. Meaning 'Argos-slayer' is the etymologically correct one. *ἀργεῖ-* for *ἀργο-* *metri gratia*; it is formed from stem of *τὸ Ἄργος*, homonym to *ὁ Ἄργος*. Cf. *ἀνδρείφόντης* for the (in dact. hex.) metrically impossible *ἀνδροφόντης*. 8. *Deiphobos*. Inscriptional variations thereof: *Δαίφονος*, *Δη(θ)ινος* (?). 9. Die Kentauren. *Κένταυρος* (orig. sing.) from *κεντεῖν* and *αἶπα* 'water' (probably not identical with *αἶπα* 'wind'), 'Wasserpeitscher,' applied to the genius of a mountain torrent in winter time; masculine equivalent of nymph's name *Πηλεΐνη*.

(An addendum to this below, pp. 211 f.) 10. Cheiron. Both *Χείρων* and *Χίρων* are genuine old forms; etacism is not concerned. Parallels to such vowel variation. Derivation from *χείρ* defended.

Pp. 62-93. G. Wolterstorff, *Entwicklung von ille* zum bestimmten Artikel. Study of uses of *ille* in Latin which led to its evolution into the Romance article. Gradual loss of original meaning; development of meanings (such as use in substantivizing non-substantives, and use before indeclinable words and expressions used for the nonce as quasi-substantives) which belong to the article in other languages; use in translating the article of other languages, esp. Greek. The paper contains little that is new in principle, but many of its numerous text-quotations are interesting.

Pp. 93-108. W. Kroll, *Syntaktische Nachlese*. 1. Konjunktiv und Futurum. Emphasizes their close similarity of function in many cases, which 'zwar allmählich verdunkelt, aber nie ganz vergessen worden ist.' 2. Satzverschränkung. Departures from 'normal' word order, esp. the insertion of the main (governing) verb in a dependent clause (type *haec res metuo ne fiat*).

Pp. 108-112. P. Kretschmer, *Die Thargelien*. *Θαργήλια* (-λος, -λιος, etc.) appears in Ionic inscriptions as *ταργ-*. This suggests a case of psilosis. The word may then be a crasis of *τὰ ἀργήλια*, *ἀργη-*. *ἀργήλια* to *ἀργματα*, 'Erstlingsspenden' (from *ἀργω*, with γ as in perfect middle, Osthoff Perf. 317; *ἀργήλια* formed by analogy of *γαμήλια* to *γάμος*). The rough breathing in (τὰ) \**ἀργήλια* would be vulgar Attic, as in *ἱππος*, *ἰχθύς*, *ἀριθμός* etc.

Pp. 112-122. P. Kretschmer, *Der griechische Imperativus Aoristi Activi auf -σον*. Explains the hitherto problematic form as an old neuter gerundive (-σον for -τιον: -τερον, cf. Skt. *kar-tva-m*); the origin of its use as an imperative is seen in the colloquial *οὐλοῦ' ὃ δρᾶσον*; of Attic drama, where the construction clearly required is that of a gerundive, 'scisne quid faciendum (sit).' Afterwards it was felt as 'scisne quid fac,' and the σ led to popular association with the sigmatic aorist. Hence prohibitions with μή do not use this form, since μή would be inappropriate to a verbal adjective. Hence also the strong tendency to prefer this form in prayers to the gods; it is an impersonal and indirect injunction, hence more polite than the brusque present, which is a true imperative.

Pp. 122-127. H. Bauer, *Das Geschlecht von finis*. *Finis* as fem. develop in sporadic cases from a misunderstanding of *ea fine, qua fine (fini)*, in which *fine* (*fini*) was in truth a preposition and the other element a pronominal adverb.

P. 128. P. Kretschmer, *Dromedarius*. The *e* of the second syllable analogically from *essedarius* or *verēdarius*?

Pp. 129-136. E. Hermann, Zur Aktionsart im negierten Satz bei Homer. Draws close parallel between Greek (esp. Homeric) and Slavonic languages in use of perfective (aorist) and imperfective (imperfect) verb forms, particularly with negatives, with which the imperfective is in the nature of things preferred, but the perfective (aorist) may be found when the action is felt as a unit, in a point of time as it were.

Pp. 136-143. F. Harder, Zu den Misch-Konstruktionen. Expressions which sacrifice strict logic or grammatical rules, thereby gaining in psychological simplicity.

Pp. 143-146. P. Von der Mühl, Στίχος μέλουρος (Hesiod, *Erga* 263). For ἰβύρε δίκας read ἰβύρε [-re; sentence haplogy] θέμωτας.

Pp. 147-157. P. Kretschmer, Lat. *quirites* und *quiritare*. New evidence for *quirites* = \**co-virites*, synonym of *cives*; and for *quiritare* (French *crier* etc.) as denominative verb from it, 'cry *Quirites*!,' 'cry' in general.

Pp. 157-173. P. Kretschmer, Zur italischen Wortgeschichte. 1. Bedeutungswörter im Oskischen. Osc. *egmo* 'res' from \**egere* = *egēre*, direct imitation of *χρῆμα* from *χρή*. German *Sache*, originally 'contest, lawsuit,' then 'thing' under the influence of *causa*, 'lawsuit,' and in vulgar and late Latin 'thing' (Fr. *chose*). Other similar cases. 2. Die Bedeutungsentwicklung von Lat. *putare*. Separates *putare* 'cleanse' from *putare* 'cut,' and develops from the latter *putare* 'reckon,' originally 'cut notches in a tally-stick for record,' and so 'count, figure, reckon, think,' etc. 3. Neugriechisch *τσέουλα* und Lat. *scheda*. *τσέουλα* 'Holzstab, Kerbholz' from Ital. *cedola* (Fr. *cédule*, Ger. *Zettel*), from *schedula*, from *sc(h)eda*, *sc(h)edium* = *σχίδα*, *σχέδιον*. Lt. *scheda* and descendants must have meant 'Holzstab' as well as, and before, 'Zettel.' 4. Zu den unlogischen Konträrbildungen. *Süßwasser*, developpt as illogical contrasting form to *Salzwasser*, is probably a 'semantic loanword' from Lat. *aqua dulcis* (: *a. salsa*), and this in turn from *γλυκὺ ὕδωρ*.

Pp. 173-193. U. Leo, Ueber Bedeutungsentwicklung einiger Simplicia und Composita im plautinischen Latein. 1. *cludere* und *Composita*. *Claudere* 'close, lock' secondary to *occludere* 'close, lock,' originally 'put the peg or belt (*clavis*) across (*ob*),' sc. the door, *portam*. 2. *cedere*—*concedere*. The meaning 'yield, give way' developpt first and quite naturally in *concedere*, and past from it to *cedere*. 3. *evenire*, *portendere*, *promittere*. Survivals of etymologically original meanings in

Plautine Latin. 4. *ob* und *sub*. Finds evidence of their original meanings in Plautus. Pott was right in connecting the two etymologically.

Pp. 193-198. J. Brück, Sabinisches *alpus*. *Alpum* 'white' for *album* by popular confusion with *al(i)pem* 'fat' (: Lat. *adipem*).

Pp. 198-9. J. Brück, Lat. *ballaena*. Loanword borrowed early from Greek into Illyrian and thence into Latin.

Pp. 200-209. E. Kieckers, Zum 'pleonastischen' *inquit*. Repetition of *inquit* within or at the end of a direct quotation, which has been introduced by a verb of saying, is not due to any weakening of *inquit*, still less to its reduction to a mere mark of quotation like Sanskrit *iti*. It is a syntactic contamination, due to the frequent interpolation of such a verb in quotations when no verb of saying has preceded. Many examples from Latin and other languages.

Pp. 210-211. E. Kieckers, Zur direkten Rede bei Plautus und Terenz. Additional material to IF. 35. 1 ff. and 36. 1 ff.

Pp. 211-212. P. Kretschmer, Zur Bedeutung von *Kῆρυκτος*. Addendum to pp. 50 ff. above.

P. 212. P. Kretschmer, Pontifex. Addendum to Glotta 9. 230 f. Other cases in which officials have come to have duties wholly different from those suggested by their titles (*ταγονοί*, quaestores, aediles).

Pp. 213-282. Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1916. Greek by Kretschmer; Italic by Hartmann and Kroll.

Pp. 283-292. Indices, by A. Nehring.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

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REVUE DE PHILOGIE, vol. XLIII, pts. 3, 4 (1919).

Pp. 241-275. Paul Léjay. La durée et le moment exprimés par le verbe latin. This article is based mainly upon a study of a Paris thesis of 1913, by D. Barbelenet, 'De l'aspect verbal en latin ancien et particulièrement dans Térence.' The chief novelty of it consists in claiming for the Latin verb—or for some Latin verbs—something analogous to the 'aspects' of the Russian verb. That is, as a simple Russian verb, 'imperfective,' may be turned into a 'perfective' by prefixing to it a preposition (which loses its original meaning), so in Latin a compound verb may indicate the beginning, the end, or the result, of the action expressed by the simple verb.

Pp. 275-276. Paul Lejay. La mort de Livius Andronicus. Cicero's 'usque ad adulescentiam meam,' De Sen. 50, is really confirmed by Livy, 31, 12, 8.

P. 276. L. Bayard. Vita Cypriani. In 2, read 'famem sustentandam' and 'praedii pretia'; in 3, 'perfecerunt,' in 9, 'aemulatione bonitatis.'

Pp. 277-282. Bulletin bibliographique.

Revue des revues et publications d'Académies relatives à l'antiquité classique. Fascicules publiés en 1915. Pp. 33-180.

W. P. MUSTARD.

## REVIEWS.

Ergebnisse und Aussichten der Homeranalyse von HANS FISCHL.  
Wien und Leipzig 1918. Buchdruckerei und Verlagsbuchhandlung Carl Fromme. 8°, 84 pp.

The book is remarkable for its sensible ideas, clearly conceived and excellently expressed. It begins with a criticism of the search for objective criteria—linguistic, mythologic, historic or archeologic; but the author, concluding from past experiences that the prospect of finding such criteria is pretty slim, soon turns to the *Kompositionskritik*. It is (according to Caener) the sovereign of this domain—holding however a limited monarchy and needing the support of the objective criteria. To test its value Fischl contrasts the two most recent analyses of the Iliad—those of Bethe (1914) and Wilamowitz (1916). This constitutes (pp. 16-75) the bulk of the book, and is very well done.<sup>1</sup> His conclusion (p. 73) that it is impossible in this way to rise above subjective probability to objective truth seems fully warranted. Only the emphasis is to be put on "in this way," which means the making of the *Kompositionskritik* an absolute monarch. At this point there opens a pitfall into which Unitarians regularly tumble. Fischl avoids it and draws (p. 76) the correct conclusion so neatly that his words deserve to be quoted in full:

"Wir teilen daher auch keineswegs die Ansicht der Unitarier, dass, insolange nicht eine vollkommen befriedigende Theorie über die Entstehung durchgeführt sei, die Interpretation von der absoluten Einheit von Verfasser und Werk ausgehen müsse. Das Versagen der Analyse bedeutet noch lange nicht eine vollständige *restitutio in integrum* für die 'homerische Frage.' Die Lösungen sind zwar missglückt, aber die Probleme dennoch vorhanden. Die zweifellos nachgewiesene Mannigfaltigkeit und das Durcheinander aus verschiedensten Zeiten stammender sprachlicher, stofflicher und kultureller Bestandteile gestattet nicht, an eine völlig freie Schöpfung im Sinne einer modernen Dichtung zu denken. . . ."

Fischl's own position (p. 80) is that the Iliad is the product of a freely creative imagination working largely in dependence on traditional forms, and with a large use of material already cast into shape. The problem is to understand the peculiar attitude of the poet to his material. The hope of a complete analysis is a will-o'-the-wisp, but one that has led scholars along paths on which they have obtained a deep insight into the historical development of the epic material and of the epic language.

The basic difference between Fischl and myself is that I am

<sup>1</sup> The elaborate attempt (pp. 56 ff.) to establish the indivisibility of A is, however, not convincing.

not convinced by his arguments intended to show that our knowledge of the development of the epic language cannot lead to a distinction between older and younger portions of the *Iliad*. At the most, they show the need of extreme care in the selection and application of such criteria. That is to be gladly conceded, altho the "warnendes Beispiel" (p. 6) is far from terrifying. It is that curious concatenation of blunders around the question of the distribution of the abstract nouns in Homer, of which I have treated in *Class. Phil.* 14 (1919) 328-337 and *Class. Journ.* 15 (1920) 368-369. The gravest blunders are those of Scott and Rothe, who practically reduce the difference between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to zero. Croiset's statement, taken literally, is open to criticism; but on the main issue, the increase of these words in the *Odyssey*, he is correct. The increase is no less than 32 per cent. when compared with the whole *Iliad*, and no less than 42 per cent. when  $\Theta\text{IK}\Psi\Omega$  are excluded from the comparison.<sup>2</sup>

The issue in the 'Homeric Question' it must be remembered, is simply whether it is possible to frame a hypothesis which can do what the Unitarian hypothesis most obviously cannot do—provide a reasonably satisfactory explanation for the existence of the *Iliad*. The first demand to be made of such a hypothesis is that it shall bring the linguistic peculiarities of the *Iliad* into line with our knowledge of the historical development of the epic language. The work, chiefly of Bechtel, has already shown in my opinion that this can be done only by assuming that roughly speaking one-fifth of the *Iliad* is older than the remainder.<sup>3</sup> Only at this point can the *Kompositionskritik* intervene. It must determine in the first place the interrelation of the various materials comprised in the older stratum. Here one fact is evident: this stratum can be followed consecutively for long stretches in  $\text{AAIIP}$  but shortly after the beginning of  $\Sigma$  it disappears, in these portions we must recognize fragments of an *Iliad*. The rest of the stratum probably includes fragments of this and fragments of other poems. To sort these out and to reconstruct the poem or poems involved is the first task of the *Kompositionskritik*. Obviously there can be no hope of a "complete solution," but on the larger issues a high degree of probability may be attained.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Croiset's statistics agree so closely in detail with the usage of the remaining nineteen books that only *Judaëus Apella* could believe the coincidence accidental.

<sup>3</sup>The assumption is confirmed by the observation that only "Mycean" armor is found in this fraction of the poem.

<sup>4</sup>Such study may lead to rectifications of the boundaries of the older stratum. Fischl, p. 6, objects to such a procedure, but without sufficient reason. If the hypothesis can be framed to fit the facts of both sorts, so much the better; only, when the two clash, the linguistic criteria as the more objective must be given the right of way.



The remaining four-fifths of the poem is a second field for the *Kompositionskritik*, and fortunately it is one in which the problems lie nearest to the surface. Consequently the analysts here show at least an approximation of views on certain fundamental questions—for instance their general attitude towards  $\Theta\text{IK}\Psi^2\Omega$ . At times the agreement goes much further, as might be shown by the treatment of Y 353—X 394 in Robert and in Wilamowitz. Nor does every divergence of the critics bring us to a dead centre—that is a thought of the Unitarians fathered by their wishes. Often it is possible and then a duty to decide between them—even when our decision must be based solely on stylistic impressions and our analysis of the composition. Further progress must depend upon the discovery of archaeological or linguistic criteria which may limit in this field too the possibilities of the analysis. It would be rash either to predict or to deny that such discoveries will be made—but I may confess that I am personally optimistic.

Still more confidently may progress be looked for from another quarter. Fischl (pp. 76 f.) lays his finger on the fatal flaw in Drerup's work: 'it ends in the belief that E as we have it has not changed a hair's breadth from the form in which it issued from Homer's hand. He might have applied a somewhat similar criticism to Bethe, who in practise handles Wolf's edition as identical with that of Aristarchus, and 'in general' identifies the latter with the Peisistratean *attisches Urexemplar*. The latter is the real object of our study (cf. Bethe, p. 53) and what is needed is a more systematic effort at its restoration. Otherwise we shall be like archaeologists discussing the authorship of a vase before its cleansing. The material has often been discussed,\* but the discussion has been piecemeal, has been entangled with hypotheses about the analysis of the poem, and has generally misunderstood the problem and consequently dated the interpolations much too early. A separate approach, made methodically step by step, should prove fruitful; external evidence alone can carry us far,' and can show us how to proceed still farther. We should be able to reach a rather definite agreement about the *attisches Urexemplar*, which will be a new and sounder basis for the discussion of the genesis of the poems.

GEORGE M. BOLLING.

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

\*With his criticism, compare my remarks AJP 35 (1914) 129-132, and more generally Prentice's brilliant review AJP 34 (1913) 332 ff.

\*Wilamowitz' consideration of it is one of the best features of his book.

\*Cf. my articles: The Archetype of Our Iliad and the Papyri AJP 35 (1914) 125-148, The Latest Expansions of the Iliad AJP 37 (1916) 1-30, The Latest Expansions of the Odyssey *ibid.* 452-458.

Accidence of Hebrew Grammar, with Exercises. By HENRY A. COFFEY, S. J., Professor of Hebrew in Woodstock College, Maryland. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis and London, 1918. vi + 113 pp. \$1.25 net.

In view of the favorable mention which this book received last year at the hands of no less a person than Rev. Samuel B. Mercer, Ph. D., D. D., Professor in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Rector of the Society of Oriental Research, and the author of various books and articles on Oriental subjects, it is necessary to call attention to its true character. In the review referred to, which covers about half a page in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* (Vol. III, No. 1, Mar. 1919, p. 49), the reviewer, before pointing out two mistakes, one omission, one misprint, and making two suggestions for improving the book in minor points, pronounces the following eulogy on the work: "Professor Coffey has compiled a very attractive and most useful little book on Hebrew Grammar, with exercises. The type, both Hebrew and English, is clear and sharp, and the soft white paper is a pleasure to the eye. In his attempt to simplify, and make attractive, the study of Hebrew, the author has rightly omitted all complicated and uncertain matters, and has emphasized the verb, which is the backbone of the language. After every section of grammatical explanation comes an excellently chosen exercise which serves to consolidate and test the student's knowledge step by step. There are very few points to criticize in this excellent little book." It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the reviewer is writing his review without reading the book, for even a cursory examination would have made such statements impossible.

The Grammar proper consists of 61 pp., of which about 25 are devoted to paradigms and exercises, leaving about 35 or 36 for grammatical statements or rules, which it is needless to say are very meager and incomplete. The Grammar is followed by 24 pp. of additional paradigms, 5 pp. of selections for reading, 10 pp. of glossaries, 3 pp. of index.

Note the following typical misprints: p. 7, l. 3 of Ex. שְׁרִיין; p. 23, l. 5 הַקְטִיל for הַקְטִיל; p. 30, l. 2 of Ex. מִצַּח for מִצַּח; p. 32, l. 4 of Ex. הִפְסֵה for הִפְסֵה; p. 44, l. 1 of Ex. שְׁרִיין; p. 58, § 85 עָלִיךְ for עָלִיךְ; p. 59, l. 1 הִתְרַב for הִתְרַב; p. 61, l. 6 רְבוּתִים for רְבוּתִים; p. 93, l. 1 דָּוֵר for דָּוֵר. Others occur on p. 15, l. 1 of Ex.; p. 29, l. 3; p. 36, l. 2 of Ex. *bis*; p. 37, l. 2 of Ex.; p. 57, ll. 2, 3 of Ex. (5 mistakes); p. 58, § 86 *ter*; p. 61, l. 2; p. 66, last l.; p. 76, l. 9; p. 91, ll. 1, 2

(first selection), ll. 1, 2, 4, 8 (second); p. 92, l. 1; p. 93, ll. 1, 15; p. 94, l. 14; p. 95, ll. 4 *bis*, 6, 7 (last selection); p. 101, No. 63; p. 103, No. 153. Some of these, as for example those on pp. 15, 30, 32, and 58, § 86 may be mistakes and not misprints.

The following are examples of incorrect or inaccurate statement:  $\aleph$  (as a vowel letter) = a, e, i, o (p. 2); The sign  $\_$  is placed under a letter that has no vowel (p. 5); Dagghesh lene removes the aspiration from (the) begadkepheth (*ibid.*); If it (a syllable) begins with two consonants, the first has vocal shewa (p. 6); It (the construct infinitive) is so called because it is construed with other parts of speech (p. 11); The term of motion (= place whither) (p. 18); Dagghesh forte is usually omitted in  $\_$  (p. 39); The first radical  $\_$  (of verbs  $\_$   $\_$ ) is dropped or assimilated as the case may require except in 2 pl. pf.  $\_$  (p. 39).

There is much that is comparatively innocuous in the grammatical statements, the paradigms, the selections from the Old Testament, the glossaries, etc., but the exercises put the final seal of condemnation on the book. No Hebraist could write such Hebrew, many of the sentences being like those found in the uncorrected exercises of beginners. Here  $\_$  'to,' which never occurs in the Bible, is used thruout for  $\_$  (cf. above); the sign of the accusative is in most cases similarly  $\_$  instead of the more common  $\_$ . The article is frequently omitted where it should stand, e. g., p. 19,  $\_$   $\_$   $\_$   $\_$  (for  $\_$   $\_$   $\_$   $\_$ ) 'the head of the Philistine (acc.); *ibid.*,  $\_$   $\_$   $\_$  (for  $\_$   $\_$   $\_$ ) 'to the desert'; *ibid.*,  $\_$   $\_$   $\_$  (for  $\_$   $\_$   $\_$ ) 'was consumed by fire.' This omission is especially frequent after the accusative sign  $\_$ . On the other hand  $\_$  is frequently omitted before the article. So it would seem almost as if the author considered the two interchangeable. He uses the imperfect several times in a past sense as the equivalent of the perfect or imperfect with *waw* conversive, e. g., p. 30,  $\_$   $\_$   $\_$   $\_$  for  $\_$   $\_$   $\_$   $\_$  'and the stone sank' (cf. p. 37, l. 1 of Ex.; p. 38, l. 3 of Ex.). He sometimes uses the wrong form of common verbs, e. g.,  $\_$  for  $\_$  'hasten,' p. 32, l. 4 of Ex. (cf.  $\_$  for  $\_$  'order' p. 42, last l.). Sometimes an unusual word which occurs in the Old Testament a few times with a certain meaning in a certain connection, is used freely in that meaning in any connection. For example,  $\_$  (only  $\_$  occurs in O. T.) which with a single exception

occurs always with בִּיר 'to deliver into the hand of,' is used four times in various forms on p. 18 apparently in the sense of 'deliver over' (?) to judge from such sentences in the accompanying English exercise as "David delivered over a man of battle" (cf. also the meaning "deliver" given for the Piel of בָּנָה in the vocabulary, p. 103). Moreover the Qal בָּנָה which means 'to close' and not to 'deliver into the hand of,' is used in this latter sense on p. 26, viz., לֹא יִבְנֶה בִּיר. Similarly נִסָּה which regularly means 'to try, prove,' and rarely if ever 'to try, attempt,' is used in this latter sense on p. 44, viz., נִסָּה לִירֶד 'try to go down,' and the meaning "try, attempt" is given as the only rendering in the glossary, p. 103.

The peculiar quality of some of the exercises can best be appreciated from the following complete sentences with their conjectural meaning added in parentheses, e. g., נָתַן שָׂאוֹל אֶת קִיבֵּעַ, (p. 19) (Saul put the helmet on the boy's head); בִּבְחֶרְהָ לְדָוִד אֶבֶן מִן הַנַּחַל לְקַלֵּעַ אֲשֶׁר לוֹ בַּצָּאן (p. 32) (a stone was chosen by David from the brook for the sling which he had with the flock); לֹא נָתַן לְאָכֹל (p. 36) (don't give anything to eat); קָלַע (p. 40) (the boy threw the stone and smote the Philistine in the forehead); נִסָּה לִירֶד וּתְצִיא (p. 44) (try to go down and bring us out of this place).

The above statement of deficiencies and errors is by no means complete, but it is sufficient to show that the book is worse than useless. It is true that some of the forms, some of the rules, and some of the examples given are not incorrect, but that such a work, bristling as it does with misprints, mistakes, and misstatements, should ever form the basis for a real knowledge of the Hebrew of the Bible, is unthinkable.

FRANK R. BLAKE, PH. D.

AARON EMBER, PH. D.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

Dramatic Compositions Copyrighted in the United States, 1870 to 1916. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918. 2 vols. 4to. Pp. v, 1662; 1663-3547, in double and triple columns.

While the chief purpose of this publication may well be considered to be one of administrative efficiency, yet there are many aspects of this huge compilation which may prove to be of interest to the scholarly world as well. By way of orientation it may be stated that there are notable collections of dramas in many of the world's greatest and most famous libraries, among which the following may be mentioned:

a. 80,000 dramas in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal at Paris. "La plus belle collection du monde." E. Morel, *Bibliothèques*, Paris, 1909. Vol. 1, p. 60.

b. 70,000 dramas in the Palli collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples. Karl J. Trübner, *Minerva*, passim.

c. 50,000 dramas in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. E. Morel, *Bibliothèques*, Paris, 1908. Vol. 2, p. 143.

Thus it will be seen at a glance that the 60,000 dramas and drama titles included in the catalogue just published by the Library of Congress in themselves form a collection worthy to take rank with other notable collections known to the scholarly world.

An important provision of the Copyright Law for many years was that dramas might be deposited in typewritten form, and as a result thousands of such dramas in duplicate are still preserved in the Library of Congress with which the public is unacquainted. Scholars interested in original research in this field would do well to bear this point in mind.

In regard to the languages represented the following general statements may be made. The vast bulk of the catalogue is made up necessarily of English dramas which have appeared either in America or in England. Among the foreign languages Spanish stands out preëminent owing to the very large number of dramatic compositions published in Spain that have been sent in for registration in recent years. Many other languages of Western Europe are also represented; and in this connection attention should also be called to the fact that the enormous emigration of recent years has resulted in the publication in America of a certain number of dramas in a variety of foreign languages. Then, too, translations and adaptations in English of foreign dramas are extremely numerous, and these are all still foreign in spirit to a greater or less extent. The dramas of a famous author are apt to be found represented in many and varied forms. Dialect plays are likewise quite a noticeable feature of the catalogue.

In conclusion it may be well to add a few general statements concerning the various copyright laws as they have affected the registration of dramas from time to time. In the Colonial period there were separate copyright provisions for each colony, but the use made of these laws was very limited in extent. After the formation of the United States of America a uniform copyright law was enacted for the whole country, which was divided for administrative purposes into various districts administered in the matter of copyright by the respective district courts. Many of these latter copyright records are still preserved in the Copyright Office at the present time, so that it is possible in numerous instances to obtain such information concerning them as may be desired by the public. In later years the law provided for the annual deposit of the copyright records and copies in the Department of State, and later still in the Patent Office in Washington, whence by an act of Congress approved July 8, 1870, they were transferred to the Library of Congress. Broadly speaking it is, therefore, possible to determine the copyright status for any drama registered for protection in the United States since the Revolutionary War.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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*Fasti Triumphales Populi Romani*, by ETTORE PAIS, in two parts, 546 pp., 21 plates and several illustrations. Published in Rome, 1920, by A. Nardecchia, Via dell'Università 11. Price 100 lire.

This publication of the *Fasti* is by no means a reproduction of the German and Austrian volumes on the subject, but offers the student much that is new and valuable. Instead of the faulty drawings or inadequate reproductions of casts, Professor PAIS presents excellent photographs of the entire series of blocks, and has been able to establish with much accuracy a set of formulae for determining the number of missing lines.

The comprehensive character of the present volume can be seen by a glance at the Table of Contents. In the first part is an historical introduction of 118 pages, followed by a transcription of the text and 300 pages of comment. The second part contains a series of chapters on various problems suggested by the *Fasti*, such as that of the filling in of the lacunae. More careful measurements than those hitherto made have led to the correction of several errors in the *Corpus*.

Other chapters in the second part deal with such questions as Triumphs, booty and military gifts (App. VII); Roman triumphs and river and maritime divinities (App. VIII); Con-

cerning the temple of Felicitas (App. IX); Triumphal Arches (App. X); List of temples erected during the Republic (App. XI).

The volume is beautifully printed with clear type and on excellent paper. To have produced such a work in spite of the many uncertainties due to the war may almost be said to add another triumph to the long list given by Professor PAIS.

C. DENSMORE CURTIS.

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME.

Orazio lirico: Studi di GIORGIO PASQUALI. Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1920. viii + 792 pp. 25 lire.

This ample volume is written in Italian, but it is thoroughly German in its horizon, method, and tone. It is divided into four chapters: (1) Horace and Alcaeus; (2) Horace and Hellenistic poetry; (3) The Roman elements of the Odes; (4) Poems of Horace's youth and of his maturer years. The first chapter shows how Horace, so far from being a slavish imitator of Alcaeus, often adopts a mere text or motto from the Greek poet, and develops it in a quite independent fashion. The second chapter is concerned largely with 'source-inquiry.' It contains a vast amount of speculation as to Horace's models in particular odes, often, of necessity, inconclusive. It is 500 pages long—"libro eccessivo, ma dotto e non inutile," as Professor PASQUALI says of a somewhat similar study, p. 177. On p. 127, Martial's 'motto,' *hominem pagina nostra sapit*, is misquoted. On p. 578, the Song of Silenus is referred to the Tenth Eclogue, instead of the Sixth.

W. P. MUSTARD.

Lucrèce, De la Nature. Texte établi et traduit par ALFRED ERNOUT. Paris: Société d'édition "*Les Belles Lettres*," 1920. 2 vols. xxvii + 580 pp. 20 frs.

This is one of the early numbers of an important new series of classical texts, "Collection des Universités de France." The Latin text is well edited, and the translation ("en regard") is uniformly good. The editor is duly conservative; he allows all possible weight to the two important Leyden MSS, and he is not given to unnecessary transposition of lines. In one or two passages he has introduced conjectures of his own: 3, 84, 'suasu,' for 'suadet'; 5, 836, 'quod quuit ut nequeat,' for 'quod potuit nequeat.' At 6, 461, it is hardly necessary to admit Bentley's 'fuvæ' for 'fulvæ.' The most novel rendering of any passage seems to be, 'laissée vierge criminellement, for 'casta inceste,'

1, 98. The *format* is attractive, and the type and paper are good. There are too many misprints: 2, 388, 'trasnit,' for 'transit'; 4, 413, 'auriae,' for 'uariae'; 5, 675, 'nimbres,' for 'imbres'; 6, 40, 'tea' for 'tela'; 6, 961, 'eadem,' for 'eodem.' 'Tanto,' 5, 140, and 'propterea,' 6, 462, have each lost a letter; and the words 'genus humanum' are confused, 2, 975. At 3, 857, the word 'sunt' is omitted, and at 5, 198, the word 'nobis' has been transferred to the following line.

W. P. MUSTARD.

Lovers of the classics everywhere will welcome the news of the successful inauguration of a project that will place within easy reach the fruits of French scholarship. During the war there was formed at Paris, under the presidency of M. MAURICE CROISSET, with headquarters at 157 Boulevard Saint-Germain, an organization of the leading classicists of France. This organization, named the *Association Guillaume Budé*, has for its object the maintenance and the diffusion of classical culture. In pursuance of this object it has projected several series of works in the field of classical antiquity, and has engaged the *Société "Les Belles-Lettres"* to publish these works as rapidly as they may be produced. The first series is the *Collection des Universités de France*, which will comprise the texts and the translations in French of the most important works (about 300) of the Greek and the Roman authors. The texts and the translations will be published both separately and conjointly—in the latter case facing each other on opposite pages. Eight numbers of this series have thus far appeared: Vol. I of Plato's Works, by MAURICE CROISSET, and Vol. II, by ALFRED CROISSET; Theophrastus' Characters, by M. NAVARRE; Vol. I of Aeschylus, by PAUL MAZON; Lucretius, by ALFRED ERNOUT (reviewed above); Persius, by M. CARTAULT; and Vol. I of Cicero's Works, by M. DE LA VILLE DE MIRMONT. Of a second series, entitled *Collection d'Etudes Anciennes*, two numbers have appeared; namely, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, by PIERRE DE LABRIOLLE; and *Règles pour éditions critiques*, by LOUIS HAVET. American scholars may aid and encourage their French confrères in the promotion of this important enterprise by joining the *Association Guillaume Budé* as annual members, or as founders, or as benefactors. Annual members pay 10 francs per annum; founders make a single payment of at least 200 francs; and benefactors, a single payment of at least 500 francs. It may be observed that membership in the Association does not entail the practice of a great amount of altruism, for members receive the equivalent of their fees in publications of the Association, and they are entitled to a discount of 25% on all books published under the auspices of the Association.

C. W. E. MILLER.



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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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## PETRARCH'S *AFRICA*<sup>1</sup>

Petrarch's *Africa* is the poem which won for him the honor of being crowned with the laurel at Rome—an honor which he says he was the first to receive since the time of Statius<sup>2</sup>—the poem on which, rather than on his wonderful Italian sonnets, he based his chief hopes of future fame.

It was written about the middle of his life; but though he often returned to the subject in the next thirty years, and spent much time in revising and polishing his work, he never regarded it as quite finished, and it was never published in his lifetime.

The poem as we have it (in nine books) is manifestly incomplete. Certainly, there is a considerable gap in the story between the Fourth and Fifth books. Apparently there is another gap in the Ninth book, after line 215. And both the Fourth and the Ninth book are unusually, or suspiciously brief. That is, the Fourth book has only 388 lines, the Ninth, 477, while the Eighth has 1,084, the Seventh, 1,130. In all, there are about 6,730 lines. The complete poem may have been in twelve books—like the *Aeneid*, or the *Thebais*.

In the year 1339, while living in retirement at Vacluse, Petrarch conceived the plan of writing a Latin poem on the life and deeds of Scipio Africanus. Beginning at once, he worked at his task for a time with such feverish zeal, that his health was impaired by too close application to his work (*Fam.* xiii, 7); but he soon dropped the subject entirely. Even while he was

<sup>1</sup> *Africa Francisci Petrarchae nunc primum emendata, curante Francisco Corradini, Padova, 1874.*

<sup>2</sup> On the 'crowning' of Statius, see E. K. Broadus, *Nation* (N. Y.), July 22, 1915.

engaged on the early books, the fame of the forthcoming poem had spread abroad; and on one and the same day (Sept. 1, 1340) he was offered the poet's crown by the Roman Senate and by the University of Paris. He could thus compare himself with the powerful king Syphax, whose friendship was courted at the same time by both Carthage and Rome (*Ad Post.*; *Fam.* iv, 4). After careful consideration he decided to accept the honor at Rome—"super cineribus antiquorum vatum, inque illorum sede" (*Fam.* iv, 6). But before going to Rome, he visited his friend and patron, King Robert at Naples. To him he read the early books of the poem, and promised to dedicate the whole work to him when it was completed. Then he went to Rome, and there he received the poetic crown, April 8, 1341, 'Paschali die' (*Ad Post.*; *Fam.* iv, 8 and 6). Later in the same year he suddenly returned to the subject of his *Africa*, and completed the poem in a very short time: "tanto ardore opus illud, non magno in tempore, ad exitum deduxi,<sup>3</sup> ut ipse quoque nunc stupeam" (*Ad Post.*).

The subject of the poem is Scipio's achievements in Africa during the later years of the Second Punic War. And hence its name.

After calling upon the Muses and invoking the Saviour of the world, the poet commends his poem to King Robert of Sicily. Some day, with ripened powers, he will sing of the King's own achievements. (Cp. the dedication of Statius' *Thebais*, i, 22-23.)

He then sets forth the causes of the Punic Wars, much in the manner of Livy (21, 1): the Carthaginian jealousy of the power of Rome, the bitter feeling caused by the harsh terms imposed after the First war, and the natural rivalry of the two great powers. Spain, especially, because of its position, was a bone of contention between the two peoples—like a sheep mauled by wolves:

Haud aliter quam quum medio deprensa luporum  
Pinguis ovis nunc huc rapidis, nunc dentibus illuc  
Volvitur, inque tremens partes discerpitur omnes,  
Bellantum proprioque madens resupina cruore.

The action of the poem begins with the year 206, when the

<sup>3</sup>Cp. the expression at the close of the poem (9,421), "O mea non parvo mihi consummata labore Africa."

Carthaginians had been driven out of Spain—Hasdrubal fleeing like a deer looking back upon his pursuers (cp. Horace, *Od.*, i, 15, 29-31)—and Scipio was preparing to carry the war into Africa. Scipio's father appears to him in his sleep, still bearing the marks of his wounds—as Hector once appeared to Aeneas (*Aen.* ii, 270)—and takes him up to the stars. From there he points out the walls of Carthage, and foretells his son's great victory (Cp. Cic. *Somn.* 2, 3).

It should be said here that Petrarch's first two books are largely a very clever adaptation of Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*.<sup>4</sup> That is, the famous vision of the Younger Scipio, who conquered Carthage in the Third Punic War, is transferred two generations back, and assigned to Scipio Africanus. So that a summary of these first two books will give a good many things which are already familiar to the reader of Cicero's prose—or to the student of Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*.

Thus, in Petrarch's story, the father of Africanus tells of his own defeat and death, in Spain, and of his brother's death (cp. Livy, 25, 32-36). "We were much together in life, and in death we were not long divided. And now we look down with an easy contempt on the scene of our former existence."

Then Africanus asks (cp. *Somn.* 3, 6), "Do you call this life, which we on earth call death?" And his father replies, "The only true life is the life after death:

Dic tamen hoc, o sancte parens, an vivere fratrem  
Teque putem, atque alios quos pridem Roma sepultos  
Defunctosque vocat? Lente pater ipse loquentem  
Risit, et: O quanta miseri sub nube iacetis,  
Humanumque genus quanta caligine veri  
Volvitur! Haec, inquit, sola est certissima vita,  
Vestra autem mors est quam vitam dicitis.

Nay, behold my brother, and the long line of heroes behind you. Will any one dare tell me these are dead?" Then the father points out Marcellus, Crispinus, Fabius, Sempronius Gracchus, Aemilius Paulus, and a host of others who had fallen for their country—

<sup>4</sup>Another Italian imitation of Cicero's *Somnium* may be found at the close of Matteo Palmieri's treatise *Della Vita Civile* (c. 1430).

Scilicet, immenso studio dum laedere quaerit,  
Civibus atque inopem spoliat dum fortibus urbem,  
Complevit caelum nostris ferus Hannibal umbris.

The death of Paulus is told at length (after Livy, 22, 49) :

Cannensi Romana die defleta supremum  
Fata putans renuit cladi superesse, sed ultro  
Oblatum contempsit equum, multumque rogantem  
Reppulit et, "Nimium," respondit, "viximus; at tu  
Macte animi virtute, puer; discede tuumque  
Victurum abde caput teque ad meliora reserva.  
Dic patribus muniant urbem, dic moenia firment;  
Condiscant extrema pati, namque improba saevas  
Ingeminat Fortuna minas, hostisque cruentus  
Victor adest. Fabio mea verba novissima perfer:  
Dic me iussorum memorem vixisse suorum,  
Dic memorem te teste mori: sed fata feroxque  
Collega ingenti turbarunt cuncta tumultu.  
Nuda loco caruit virtus; tulit impetus illam.  
Effuge, dum morior, ne forsā plura loquendo  
Sim tibi causa necis." Dicentem talia ferro  
Circumstant; volat ille levis; timor allevat artus  
Et plumas adiungit equo et calcaria plantis.

Then Africanus addresses his uncle, and asks, "If there is life beyond the grave, if there is life eternal, while the life we know is like unto death, why do I linger upon the earth? Why does not my soul leave the earth, and fly hither?" "Nay," replied the other; "man must live out his allotted time on earth, and not desert the post of duty." 'Tis justice and piety that open the way to heaven. Nothing is dearer to the gods than patriotic service."

Then the uncle points out the seven kings of Rome (cp. Florus, 1, 1-8)—all except the last wicked king, who has no place here—the three Horatii, Publicola, and all the mighty throng that dwell in the Milky Way (cp. *Somn.* 3, 8). But the night is passing, and there is not time to tell of them all. Only, the father adds, all these served their country well.

In the Second book, Africanus asks what Fate has in store for him, and his father foretells the remaining events of the war—the recall of Hannibal from Italy, his attempt to make terms

\* Cp. Cicero, *Somn.* 3, 7, *T. D.* i, 74; Plato, *Phaedo*, 62 B; Spenser, *F. Q.* i, 9, 41; Tennyson, *Lucretius*, 146.

with the Romans, his defeat at Zama, his flight to King Antiochus, and his death at the court of Bithynia. "And there will be other wars for Rome. You yourself will be known in the East, as well as in the West and South." Then he foretells various civil and foreign wars, down to the taking of Jerusalem. But he breaks off before telling of the decline of the Empire. Still, even in the later evil days the name of Rome will never be lost:

Vivet honos Latius, semperque vocabitur uno  
Nomine Romanum imperium.

Even in her fall she will be like an aged lion—old, but still a lion, and still the monarch of the forest:

nam Roma potentibus olim  
Condita sideribus, quamvis lacerata malorum  
Consiliis manibusque, diu durabit, eritque  
Has inter pestes nudo vel nomine mundi  
Regina; hic nunquam titulus sacer excidet illi.  
Qualiter annosum vires animusque leonem  
Destituunt, sed prisca manet reverentia fronti  
Horrificusque sonus; quamquam sit ad omnia tardus,  
Umbra sit ille licet, circum tamen omnis inermi  
Paret silva seni.

Then the father breaks off, and leads his son down toward the earth. The morning star was high behind them, and yet the two of them cast but a single shadow—"tamen una erat umbra duorum" (cp. Dante, *Purg.* 3, 19-21).

Here the father makes a final statement to his son (cp. *Sonn.* 6-7); the stars stopped in their course to listen. "All earthly fame is fleeting. See how small the earth is, like a tiny island set in the middle of the 'mighty' Ocean. Surely, it offers no great room for fame. And yet, small as it is, it is not all habitable for men. Indeed, we are really confined to a single one of the five zones. And no man's fame can extend even over the whole of this. The praises of men will perish. This is the only real life, this eternal life of ours, which is the reward of virtue and uprightness. Even monuments of marble will perish in time, even books are mortal; but your fame will not be wholly lost. Even now I see a Tuscan youth coming after many centuries, like a second Ennius, to tell of your deeds. Both he and

Ennius are dear in my sight; but Petrarch will deserve the greater gratitude, for he will write of us without hope of favor or reward, moved only by admiration for great deeds and a love of truth:

Cernere iam videor genitum post saecula multa  
 Finibus Etruscis iuvenem, qui gesta renarret,  
 Nate, tua, et nobis veniat velut Ennius alter.  
 Carus uterque mihi, studio memorandus uterque:  
 Iste rudes Latio duro modulamine Musas  
 Intulit, ille autem fugientes carmine sistet.  
 Et nostros vario cantabit uterque labores  
 Eloquio, nobisque brevem producere vitam  
 Contendet; verum multo mihi carior ille est  
 Qui procul ad nostrum reflectet lumina tempus.  
 In quod eum studium non vis pretiumve movebit,  
 Non metus aut odium, non spes aut gratia nostri,  
 Magnarum sed sola quidem admiratio rerum,  
 Solus amor veri.

And yet, as I have said, even books are mortal. Again, how many famous men there are in the distant East and South of whom you have never heard. Your fame is hemmed in by narrow bounds. Therefore scorn the favor of men, and look for your eternal reward in heaven. As for glory, it is the shadow of virtue, and it follows the good man even though he cares not for it (cp. Cic. *T. D.* 1, 45, 109; Seneca, *Ep.* 79, 13; Claudian, 17, 7). Be faithful to your country, and to your friends; there is nothing better than a friend. Laelius is your friend now, another Laelius will be the special friend of your grandson. Your last days will be saddened, you will die in exile, and refuse to be buried at Rome."

Then the daylight came, the trumpet blew, and the dream was done:

Buccina castrorum cecinit, sonituque tremendo  
 Attonitum subito somnusque paterque reliquit.

Book III. Scipio sends Laelius to Africa, to win over Syphax to an alliance with the Romans (cp. Livy, 28, 17, 1-12). Laelius proceeds to the rich palace of Syphax—which is described in detail:

puro nil vilius auro  
 Agnoscit, pedibusque premit quae cara putantur.



It is adorned with pictures of the heavenly bodies, of the signs of the Zodiac, and of the Gods and heroes (cp. Ovid's description of the Palace of the Sun, *Met.* ii, 1-18). The Three Graces, it may be noted, are portrayed in their conventional attitude:

nudisque tribus comitata puellis,  
Quarum prima quidem nobis aversa, sed ambae  
Ad nos conversos oculos vultusque tenebant  
Innexae alternis per candida brachia nodis.\*

And Mercury is depicted with his bride Philology seated at his side—an indication that Petrarch was familiar with the curious fancy of Martianus Capella, of the marriage of Mercury and Philology.

Syphax is favorably impressed by Laelius' message, and by the presents he brings, but says, "Let Scipio himself come and visit me here—*faciatque fidem praesentia fama*." Then follows a banquet, at which Laelius sits like Ulysses at the banquet of Alcinous:

Talis apud mensas (nisi testem spernis Homerum)  
Coena fit Alcinoi: sedet illic blandus Ulysses,  
Laelius hic hospes mellito affabilis ore.

A youthful minstrel sings of the history of the region: of Hercules and Antaeus, of Atlas, and Medusa, and Dido,<sup>7</sup> and Carthage—down to the present crisis (cp. *Aen.* 1, 740-46).

Then Laelius is urged to tell something of the history of Rome. "That is a long story," he replies, "and our annals are far from complete. Indeed, we Romans have always been more concerned with making history than with writing it—

\*Cp. Boccaccio, *Geneal. deor. gentil.* v. 35; 'E. K.' on Spenser, *S. C.* iv, 109; Petrus Philippus Assirellius, *Carmina* (Florence, 1597), p. 18, *Hae Charites donum laetantur reddere duplex; | Unde duae vultum, terga dat una soror; Alciati, Emblema 153, Gratus | Foenerat; huic remanent una abeunte duae.*

<sup>7</sup>The African minstrel follows what seems to have been a common African version of the death of Dido: "*Mox aspernata propinqui | Coniugium regis, quum publica vota suorum | Urgerent, veteris non immemor illa mariti | Morte pudicitiam redimit.*" Petrarch discusses the matter at length in one of his Letters (*Sen.* iv, 4), and he follows this version himself in his *Trionfo della Castità*. Cp. Carlo Pascal, *Didone nella letteratura latina d'Africa, Athenaeum*, v, 285-293.

Scriptorum copia nunquam  
 Romano fuit in populo, quos Graius abunde  
 Orbis habet. Nostris facere est, quam scribere, multo  
 Dulcius, atque aliis laudanda relinquere facta,  
 Quam laudare alios."<sup>a</sup>

Still, he gives a brief sketch of Aeneas, and Romulus, and a long list of heroes, of Curtius, the Decii and Regulus, who gave their lives for their country—

Quamquam quid genera atque viros memorare necesse est,  
 Quum saepe ad certam legiones currere mortem  
 Viderimus monstrante duce et sua fata docente?<sup>b</sup>

"For this is the Roman way—

Romanum est, si nescis, opus, contemnere casus  
 Fortuitos, placide venienti occurrere morti,  
 Spernere quae gentes aliae mirantur et optant;  
 Contra autem amplecti quae formidanda videntur,  
 Vincere supplicia et tristes calcare dolores,  
 Sponte mori potius quam turpem degere vitam.

(Cp. Livy, 2, 12, 9, et facere et pati fortia Romanum est.) You ask about our later kings, and the fall of the monarchy—our kings whom we once guarded as bees guard their king (cp. Verg. *Geor.* 4, 215-17). Then hear the story of Tarquinius and Lucretia and Brutus" (cp. Livy, 58-59).

Book IV. Syphax says, "But tell us of your great Scipio; tell us of your *dux modernus*." Then Laelius takes up the praises of his commander, his manly beauty, and his noble presence—"you won't be disappointed when you see him":

datur haec illi nam gloria soli;  
 Nominibus quia quum noceat praesentia magnis,<sup>c</sup>  
 Hunc super attollit—

<sup>a</sup> Cp. Sallust, *Cat.* 8, at populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit . . . optimus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. Cic. *T. D.* i, 37, 89 and 101; *C. M.* xx, 75.

<sup>c</sup> Cp. *Fam.* 1, 1, "famae semper inimica praesentia est . . . Ego id uni omnium Africano tributum memini, ut scilicet et fama mirabilis et praesentia mirabilior haberetur"; Livy, 28, 18, mirabilioremque sibi eum virum congresso coram visum prae se ferebat quam bello rebus gestis." Corradini quotes Claudian, *Bell. Gild.* 385, "minuit praesentia famam."

his many good qualities of head and heart (Livy, 26, 50, 13)—

Vincitur ut caelo species telluris opacae,  
Florida sic omnes tellus premit Itala terras;  
Utque nitet caeli pars purior una sereni,  
Italia sic Roma potens praefulget in ipsa;  
Solque velut radiis fulgentia sidera vincit,  
Scipio sic omnes superat—

the popular belief in his divine parentage, his daily visits to the temple of Jupiter (Livy, 28, 19). "He is now meditating an attack upon Carthage:

Omnia posse putat quae vult; quaecumque putavit  
Posse, potest; igitur peragit quaecumque cupivit;  
Optima sola tamen cupit et pulcherrima factu.

He saved his father's life in the engagement at the Ticinus (Livy, 21, 46); in the 'shipwreck' after Cannae he rallied his followers (Livy, 22, 53); he conquered Spain, he took New Carthage in a single day. Hear, too, his wise decision in the dispute about the mural crown (Livy, 26, 48)—'Nam prior est, quem nemo praeit'—and his chivalrous treatment of the women captives (Livy, 26, 49)."

In Livy's account, 28, 17-18, Scipio himself visits Syphax, and forms an alliance with him. Then he goes back to Spain. All this in 206. Petrarch's Fifth book begins with the year 203; so that there is a gap here covering the events of three years. The complete poem must have outlined these events, and so prepared the reader for the beginning of the Fifth book, which takes up the story of Sophonisba. And especially it must have recorded the movements of the two rival Berber kings Masinissa and Syphax, and their relations to Carthage and Rome. For by this time Syphax has married Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, and broken his alliance with Scipio, while Masinissa has also changed sides, and is now fighting on the side of Rome. And now Syphax has just been defeated and taken prisoner—largely through Masinissa's aid.

Book V. Masinissa, after the defeat and capture of Syphax, comes to Cirta, the city of Syphax (Livy, 30, 8-14). Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax, comes out to meet him. Her beauty is described in detail—with the use of many of the 'conceits'

which Petrarch employed for the description of feminine beauty in his Sonnets.<sup>11</sup> She is a Carthaginian princess, very fair, with golden hair, a complexion of lilies and roses, with beautiful teeth, and wonderful eyes, etc., etc., etc.

Stabat candore nivali

Frons alto miranda Iovi, multumque sorori  
 Zelotypae metuenda magis, quam pellicis ulla  
 Forma viro dilecta vago. Fulgentior auro  
 Quolibet, et solis radiis factura pudorem  
 Caesaries spargenda levi pendebat ab aura  
 Colla super, recto quae sensim lactea tractu  
 Surgebant . . . . .  
 Candida purpureis imitantur floribus almae  
 Lilia mixta genae; roseis tectumque labellis  
 Splendet ebur series mira, etc.

Masinissa is much impressed by her beauty:

Liquitur ille tuens captiva captus ab hoste,  
 Victaque victorem potuit domuisse superbum.

(Cp. Livy, 30, 12; Hor. *Epp.* 2. 1, 156). She appeals to him to save her from falling into Roman hands. He offers to marry her himself, but she declines the honor:

Sed quia fata premunt, et nostris debitus annis  
 Finis adest, mihi, care, animos attollere fractos  
 Desine; non tali pelago convulsa ratis nat.

He promises that, if the worst comes to the worst, he will supply her with the means of death, and so help her to avoid captivity. He decides to marry her himself, and hastily does so—"we are a well-matched pair, and perhaps Scipio will not condemn me":

Non pulcrius orbe

Par fuerit toto, nisi nos oblivia formae  
 Forte tenent nostrae; genus, et gens, omnia tandem  
 Conveniunt.

Then we have the wedding night, with the bride's fears and disturbing visions (cp. *Aen.* 4, 460 ff.):

Illi non blanda mariti

Oscula mille novi, non regni iura vetusti  
 Per cunctos promissa deos, de corde pavorem

---

<sup>11</sup> For details, see Corradini's commentary.

Funditus expulerant: semper tremefacta sepulcrum  
Ante oculos mortemque tulit. Nec somnia laetum  
Portendere aliquid. Visa est sibi nempe secundo  
Rapta viro, sentire minas et iurgia primi;  
Et tremuit, sopita licet.

The multitude disapproves of the whole hasty and irregular business (cp. *Aen.* 4, 172-197). Scipio hears of it, and prepares to rebuke the offender:

Sic pater offensus longinquo verbera nato  
Instruit et thalamis irarum fulmina fundit,  
Mox vultu placito et dulci sermone movendus.

Meanwhile a rumor spreads that Syphax is coming, as a captive, to the Roman camp. The multitude rushes out to see him—how fallen now:

Hunc illum bello ingentem regnisque superbum,  
Romanum Poenumque ducem qui viderit uno  
Tempore sub laribus pacem veniamque precantes, etc.

(Cp. Livy, 30. 13-14). Scipio reproaches him for broken faith, and Syphax replies—"sero vix longa silentia fregit"—"All my treachery, and all my downfall, are due to my Carthaginian wife (a daughter of Hasdrubal)."

Masinissa passes over to Scipio's camp. Scipio reasons with him, and rules that Sophonisba must be sent along with Syphax to Rome (Livy, 30, 14). Then, in a long passage which is one of the finest of the whole poem, Masinissa passes a troubled night lamenting his hopeless situation. At last he resolves to let Sophonisba die; he falls into a troubled sleep; morning comes; he calls a faithful slave, and sends her poison (Livy, 30, 15). She curses Scipio (as Dido curses Aeneas, *Aen.* 4, 607 ff.): "May he spend his last days in exile, may his brother suffer wrong, and his son be a poor thing, inglorious; may he have a mean tomb. May the grandsons of Masinissa fight against each other, and may Jugurtha be conquered by the Roman Marius." Then she drank the poison "like one athirst"—like Cicero's Theramenes, *T. D.* 1, 40, 96, "venenum ut sitiens obduxisset"—

Illa manu pateramque tenens et lumina coelo  
Attollens, 'Sol alme,' inquit, 'Superique, valete;

Massinissa, vale, nostri memor.' Inde malignum  
 Ceu sitiens haurit non mota fronte venenum,  
 Tartareasque petit violentus spiritus umbras.<sup>12</sup>

Book VI. Sophonisba passes to the Stygian pools, where the Parcae and the other denizens of that region throng about her in amazement. This fancy is apparently taken from the beginning of the Eighth book of the Thebais, where the Parcae and the rest are startled by the sudden coming of Amphiaras—though the coming of Sophonisba was surely less unusual, in its cause and in its manner, than that of the warrior seer who was carried down to Tartarus alive and still arrayed in all the panoply of war.<sup>13</sup> (In each case, too, the Infernal judges, Minos and Rhadamanthus, immediately set their minds on the appropriate sentence for the new-comer.) Minos orders that she be confined in the 'second' prison—with other people who threw away their lives (cp. *Aen.* 6, 434-6). Rhadamanthus concurs; but Aeacus says, "Nay, in the 'third.' Love caused her death; she was forced to die, and she has suffered much already" (cp. *Aen.* 6, 442 ff.). Here, in this 'third' prison, she sees Iphis and Biblis, and Myrrha, and Oenone, and Lavinia, and Thisbe, and other famous women who had died for love.

<sup>12</sup> The story of Sophonisba has often been brought upon the tragic stage, though it is hard to find any trace of the influence of Petrarch's poem. It is the subject of the first regular Italian tragedy, by Trissino (c. 1514). The best-known plays on the subject are by Mairet (1629) and Corneille (1663), in French, by Lohenstein (1666) and Geibel (1873), in German, and John Marston (1606) and James Thomson (1729), in English. The principal thing now remembered about Thomson's tragedy is that it contained a silly line:

Oh! Sophonisba, Sophonisba, Oh!

which was promptly parodied as:

Oh! Jemmy Thomson, Jemmy Thomson, Oh!

Perhaps the latest of the series is a tragedy in four acts by Alfred Poizat, presented by the Comédie-Française in 1913, in the ancient Roman theatre at Orange. It is published in *La Petite Illustration*, Paris, 2 Août, 1913.

<sup>13</sup> Cp. Chaucer, *Troilus*, 2, 104, "How the bishop . . . Amphiorax al thurgh the ground to helle." Corradini compares Petrarch's sonnet (ii. 75) "Gli angeli eletti e l'anime beate," etc.

Meanwhile, Scipio comforts Masinissa (cp. Livy, 30, 15). He gives him a horse and other gifts, and promises him greater things, a share in the coming triumph, a seat in the Roman Senate, etc. Masinissa is cheered by the larger hope—like the bird-catcher who loses a small bird, but is cheered by the approach of a larger one:

Ceu retibus auceps  
Aspiciens volucrem subito discedere parvam  
Conqueritur, movet exigui spes perdita lucri;  
Maior inopina mox et generosior ales  
Parte poli tensis si forsitan advolet alis,  
Erigitur, recipitque animos, spesque ampla futuri  
Praeteriti meminisse vetat; sic prima secundae  
Cura parum solido sub pectore cessit amantis;  
Victus amore amor atque libidine victa libido est.

That night he dreamed, not of Sophonisba, but of his future fortune:

Proxima nox alia transivit imagine somni:  
Non habitus, non incessus, non vultus amicae  
Ante oculos, non vox iterum exaudita gementis;  
At solium atque urbes, at fortibus oppida muris,  
Fluminaque et montes lati confinia regni.

Next morning Laelius sails for Rome, with his distinguished captive. His soldiers send messages to their friends at home. Syphax laments his fallen fortunes, and prays for death by shipwreck—like a man who has lost all his crops and hopes his neighbors will fare as ill:

Invidus haud aliter tenuis regnator agelli,  
Annua cui messis periit spes, optat iniquum  
Ver aliis imbresque feros et grandine mixtos  
Arboribus frugibusque graves incumbere ventos.

Scipio advances, and takes up a position before Carthage. The Carthaginians send thirty envoys to him (Livy, 30, 16). Scipio offers them terms, which they profess to accept—like the faithless sailor who makes vows to the gods in time of stress, but forgets them when the danger is past. They wish to gain time, till Hannibal can come.

They send envoys to Italy to appeal to Hannibal to return (Livy, 30, 19). As he listens to their spokesman, he writhes like a charm-bound snake:

Ille perorantem querulo cum murmure semper  
 Audierat, frendensque manus compresserat, et se  
 Torserat; haud aliter quam carmina noxia serpens  
 Et magicum murmur cursumque vetantia verba  
 Quando audit, rauco violentus sibilat ore,  
 Et sese in nodos sinuoso corpore versat.

His reply follows Livy, 30, 20. He slaughters the Italian soldiers who refused to follow him over the seas, and embarks in the transports that had long been in readiness in the roadstead of Croton. He regrets that he had not taken Bomilcar's advice, and marched at once from Cannae to Rome. (Livy says *Ma-harbal's* advice, 22, 51.) He lays the blame for his failure in Italy on the Pacifists at home.

Sic tristis abibat  
 Hannibal, et quarto linquebat littora lustrum  
 Italiae possessa gemens; nec tristior unquam  
 Vel patriam quisquam vel dulces liquit amicos,  
 Quam patriam petit ille suam; sibi nempe videri  
 Exul ab hostili iussus regione reverti.

Sailing past the 'toe' of Italy—"Italicae transmisso pollice plantae"—he passes Scylla, and Aetna, and Syracuse, and Pachynum. An old steersman recalls the story of Xanthippus (cp. Val. Max. 9, 6).

Meanwhile Laelius has delivered the captive Syphax at Rome, and sets out on his return to Africa. But it is reported that envoys are coming from Carthage, and he is recalled. He returns unwillingly:

sic dulcia carae  
 Limina cum peteret iuvenis male sanus amicae,  
 Si pater aut genetrix retrahant, vestigia flectit  
 Lenta dolens, pactamque timens amittere noctem.

The Senate meets outside the city, in the temple of Bellona. The Punic envoys are granted a hearing, and dismissed 'sine pace, sine foedere, sine responso' (Livy, 30, 22-23). Fulvius and Laelius are sent to report the Senate's decision to Scipio.

A Roman fleet is wrecked on its way from Sicily to Africa (Livy, 30, 24), and some of the ships are looted near Byrsa. Scipio sends three 'orators' to protest against this breach of the armistice; these are attacked by the Carthaginian mob. They



get back to their ships, but are attacked by three hidden vessels; they run aground and escape (Livy, 30, 25).

Meanwhile Laelius returns from Rome with the Carthaginian envoys. Scipio dismisses the envoys, and prepares for battle (Livy, 30, 25). Mago, the brother of Hannibal, sails from Genoa; but he has been sorely wounded, and he dies on his way home. He moralizes on the folly of man's ambition, on the vanity of earthly glory:

Hic postquam medio iuvenis stetit aequore Poenus,  
 Vulneris increscens dolor et vicinia durae  
 Mortis agens stimulis ardentibus urget anhelum.  
 Ille, videns propius supremi temporis horam,  
 Incipit: "Heu qualis fortunae terminus altae est!  
 Quam laetis mens caeca bonis! Furor ecce potentum  
 Praecipiti gaudere loco: status ille procellis  
 Subiacet innumeris, et finis ad alta levatis  
 Est ruere. Heu tremulum magnorum culmen honorum,  
 Spesque hominum fallax, et inanis gloria fictis  
 Illita blanditiis! Heu vita incerta labori  
 Dedita perpetuo! semperque heu certa, nec unquam  
 Sat mortis provisa dies! Heu sortis iniquae  
 Natus homo in terris! Animalia cuncta quiescunt;  
 Irrequietus homo perque omnes anxius annos  
 Ad mortem festinat iter. Mors, optima rerum,  
 Tu retegis sola errores et somnia vitae  
 Discutis exactae: video nunc quanta paravi  
 Ah miser! incassum; subii quot sponte labores,  
 Quos licuit transire mihi. Moriturus ad astra  
 Scandere quaerit homo; sed mors docet omnia quo sint  
 Nostra loco. Latio quid profuit arma potenti,  
 Quid tectis inferre faces? Quid foedera mundo  
 Turbare atque urbes tristi miscere tumultu?  
 Aurea marmoreis quidve alta palatia muris  
 Erexisse iuvat, postquam sic sidere laevo  
 Sub divo periturus eram? Carissime frater,  
 Quanta paras animis, heu fati ignarus acerbi  
 Securusque mei!" Dixit: tum liber in auras  
 Spiritus egreditur, spatiis unde altior aequis  
 Despiceret Romam, simul et Carthaginis urbem;  
 Ante diem felix abiens, ne summa videret  
 Excidia, et claris quod restat dedecus armis,  
 Fraternosque suosque simul patriaeque dolores.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The thirty-four lines on the death of Mago have a special history of their own. In 1343 Petrarch gave them to a friend at Naples, under

Book VII. Hannibal is sailing homeward, ignorant of his brother's death:

Atque supervacuis ignarus pectora veri  
 Implicuit curis: volucris velut anxia, nido  
 Pabula dum cumulet, memori torquetur amore  
 Assiduoque fremit studio, et suspenditur alia,  
 Quum tamen interea generis spem forte malignus  
 Abstulerit natos atque incunabula pastor.

His look-out reports that the wind is carrying them straight upon a broken tomb. They change their course, and land, by rowing, near Leptis (Livy, 30, 25).

Meanwhile there was much uneasiness at Rome. Fabius had prophesied that Hannibal would be a more dangerous foe in Africa than in Italy (Livy, 30, 28).

Hannibal passes from Leptis to Zama. He sends scouts to Scipio's camp. These are captured, shown everything, and sent back in safety (Livy, 30, 29). He asks for a personal conference with Scipio in the hope of obtaining better terms of peace. This is granted, and they meet. Each hastily thinks of the other's prowess—"oculi trepidantis in ictu." Their two speeches are based on Livy, 30, 30-31. The speakers part—as two horn-locked bulls separate, only to meet again. They fire the spirits of their followers—as two farmers separate to set fire to different fields of stubble. The soldiers prepare for battle:

a strict pledge of secrecy. But the friend promptly forgot his pledge, and the passage was soon widely copied and distributed, and so was handed on in a good many mss. And Petrarch records that it was severely criticized, on the ground that the sentiment and tone were not in keeping with the time, the place, or the speaker (*Sen.* 2, 1). In 1781 a French editor, J. B. Lefèvre, claimed the lines for Silius Italicus, and actually printed them in an edition of the *Punica* (after xvi, 27). (Apparently, even in 1781 a new editor liked to offer something new.) Lefèvre had found them, not in a MS of Silius at all, but in a collection of excerpts. Yet he professed to believe that Petrarch had a copy of the *Punica*, that he thought it the only one in existence, that he borrowed these thirty-four lines bodily, and deliberately suppressed the rest. In 1823 a verse translation of the passage was printed in Ugo Foscolo's *Essays on Petrarch*, and attributed to Lord Byron. In the following year the translation was claimed by Byron's friend, Thomas Medwin.

vario permixta fragore

Castra modis reboant miris: hic corrigit hastam,  
 Ille acuit gladios, agiles probat ille sagittas.  
 Induit hic galeam capiti, cristasque trementes  
 Excolit, hic blando permulcens murmure fortem  
 Frenat equum phalerisque tegit, studet ille recurvus  
 Ferratos aptare pedes, unguemque cavatum  
 Verberat, ac crebris tinnitibus inde favillas  
 Elicit, etc.

Here, after a special invocation of the Muses (as in Virgil, *Aen.* 7, 641 or 10, 163), the poet tells how Carthage and Rome appear before Jupiter and appeal to him (cp. Virg. *Aen.* 10, 1-117, the debate of Venus and Juno; also, Claudian, *Bell. Gild.* 17-212, the appeal of Rome and Africa to Jupiter). Jupiter replies that each of them will see her noble son die in exile. He foretells the Incarnation, and the establishment of the Roman Church; the country which is victorious in the coming battle will become the chief seat of his eternal empire—and that within the next 300 years.

Then we have the order of battle on both sides and the two generals' speeches, all based on Livy, 30, 32-33. The Roman trumpets sound the attack. Hannibal's elephants retreat and cause confusion. Hannibal fights like a boar at bay; Scipio rushes like a lion. Hannibal's forces are utterly broken, and he flees to Hadrumetum. Recalled to Carthage by the Senate, he avoids the sight of men, and hides himself in his own home (Livy, 30, 33-35).

Book VIII. After the battle the Romans plunder the Carthaginian camp. At the close of the day the victors appease their hunger, and talk over the battle. Laelius and Masinissa discuss Hannibal's escape. Scipio reviews the battle, and insists that Hannibal is a greater general than Alexander or Pyrrhus—greater as a soldier and as a man (Livy, 21, 4; 9, 18-19). Here, by a slight anachronism, the poet glances at a conversation held some years later between Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus (Livy, 35, 14). So they draw out the first half of the night in talk, but at midnight they lie down to sleep:

Sic ubi tristis apes caelo commisit aperto  
 Impetus et magnae caedis pluit aether acervos,  
 Pars victrix repetit sedes procul hoste remoto,

Et circa regem coeunt ac murmure plaudunt;  
 Postremum irriguo dant corpora lassa sopori,  
 Atque omnes pariterque silent pariterque quiescunt.

On the other hand the Carthaginian leaders consult together, like the officers of a ship in a time of great danger. Hannibal's opinion is sought. At last he comes forth ashamed—like a virtuous matron who has suffered some great wrong. He advises them to sue for peace. He himself steals away (Livy, 33, 47)—to Antiochus, King of Syria, now warring at Ephesus. He passes Drepanum and Panormus, and Lipara. Near the Straits he becomes suspicious of his pilot Pelorus, and kills him. He regrets his hasty act, and buries him in Sicily (cp. Val. Max. 9, 8)—hence the name of the promontory, as Virgil's Misenus gave his name to Misenum.

Scipio advances to Utica, whence he goes out himself to inspect the defences of Carthage:

Invisam veluti cupiens prosternere rupem  
 Cultor agri, aut segeti damnosam avellere quercum,  
 It circum, tentatque modos, facilemque ruinam  
 Cogitat innocuamque aliis campoque sibique.

Then he advances with his fleet to Tunis. Vermina, the son of Syphax, comes to avenge his father's defeat—he is ignorant of the destruction of Hannibal's army. His army is slaughtered, but he himself escapes (Livy, 30, 36). This is a final disaster to the Carthaginians:

Puppe velut fracta, remo quum tristis adhaesit  
 Navita iactaturque vadis, cui litora longe,  
 Spes fuste exiguo titubat; si forte malignus  
 Fluctus et hunc rapiat, mortem gemit atque secundum  
 Naufragium; tanta ex parvis momenta supremum  
 Tempus habet.

They send thirty envoys to Scipio at Tunis (Livy, 30, 36). Meanwhile, the Senate and people are terrified by many portents at Rome (Livy, 30, 38).

The consul Claudius sets sail for Africa, hoping to have equal authority there with Scipio. But even the elements resent his ambition. He is driven back by a great storm at sea, and is unable to resume his expedition before his year of office

expires (Livy, 30, 39). Meanwhile, news comes to Rome of the downfall of Hannibal.

The new consul Cornelius Lentulus tries to be sent to Africa, where he sees an opportunity of winning an easy credit, of reaping where he had not sown (Livy, 30, 40):

Scilicet hoc meditans; seu pax instaret, haberi  
Pacis honoratae princeps, seu bella manerent,  
Perfacilem exhausti fore iam certaminis omnem  
Eventum et praegrande decus. Sic ille labori  
Incumbens alieno indignum ardebat honorem,  
Semine non proprio messem rapturus opimam.

Here the poet makes a digression. "What foreign general, even unfettered by our Roman system of military command, ever accomplished as much as Scipio?" (Cp. Livy, 9, 18).

Rather than begin a long siege, which might give Lentulus a chance to share in the final victory, Scipio offers a premature peace (Livy, 30, 36):

Sic villicus olim,  
Nocturnos metuens fures, legit arbore poma  
Immatura licet; sic pastor pendula ramis  
Hospitia et nidos spoliatur pullosque reportat  
Implumes, properans serpentum avertere pestem.

His terms are stated as in Livy, 30, 37. The Carthaginians decide to accept them, for they think of the possibility of even harsher demands:

condensis volucris ceu vepribus haerens  
Accipitrem super astantem videt anxia, nec se  
Ausa movere loco, patitur laqueumque manumque  
Aucupis: impendens tanti est differre periculum!

A second Carthaginian embassy is sent to Rome, headed by Hasdrubal Haedus. Lentulus, eager to prevent any peace except one of his own making, refuses to admit them to the city:

Sed Lentulus aeger  
Ambitione sua, legatos arcuit urbe;  
Nam belli cupidus Consul fugiebat honestum  
Pacis iter.

The Senate meets them in the Temple of Bellona. Hasdrubal appeals for peace, on the terms which Scipio had offered (Livy,

30, 42). Peace is granted, he is admitted to the City, he makes a tour of it, and visits its monuments:

Non aliter stupuit, nisi falsa est fabula, caelum  
 Ingrediens viridi subito translatus ab Ida  
 Laomedonteus puer, ut vaga sidera circum  
 Haesit et Iliacas despexit ab aethere silvas.

Here he sees not only the Pantheon—which can hardly have existed at that early date—but also the two colossal Horse Tamers on the Quirinale:

Praxitelis opus Phidiaeque insigne supremi.

He returns to Carthage. Scipio receives him, and the treaty is signed (Livy, 30, 43). Scipio distributes rewards and punishments (Livy, 30, 44). He orders that the Carthaginian fleet be burned, and sails for home.

Book IX. The Roman fleet is speeding joyously homeward, over a tranquil sea. Scipio calls upon the poet Ennius to sing and lighten the journey—"Ennius, assiduus rerum testisque comesque." Ennius prophesies that Scipio's fame will increase as the years go by. "The great king of Macedon envied Achilles for having a Homer to sing of his deeds (cp. Cic. *Arch.* 10, 24):

Macetum rex magnus aviti  
 Forte videns saxum Aeacidæ titulosque sepulcri,  
 'Fortunate,' inquit, 'iuvenis, cui nominis illum  
 Praeconem reperire fuit.' Non parva profecto  
 Est claris fortuna viris habuisse poetam,  
 Aktisonis qui carminibus cumulare decorem  
 Virtutis queat egregiae monumentaque laudum.

You deserve a Homer to sing of your deeds, but you have only me. Perhaps in the years to come a proper poet will arise for you." "Say no more," says Scipio, "I shouldn't prefer Homer or Euripides to you."

Ennius discourses on the poet's task, and explains the meaning of the laurel, to the poet and to the general. Scipio urges him to sing now, for there is time to kill. Then Ennius begins, and all listen in silence. He tells of his long devotion to Homer, and of his recent conversation with Homer in a dream (cp. Cic. *Somn. Scip.* 1, 2; Lucr. 1, 124-126; Ennius, *Ann.* 1,

5 V). In his dream Ennius asks, "Who is yon youth I see sitting at Vacluse?" And Homer replies, "That is Francesco Petrarca of Florence. He will recall the Muses from a long exile; he will be dear to Rome as a late-born son. Your friend Scipio will owe much to him, and he will be crowned on the Capitoline."

Then the evening falls, the sails are run up, and the wearied oarsmen are allowed to sleep.

After a special invocation of Calliope (cp. *Aen.* 7, 641; 10, 163) the poet tells of Scipio's triumph. Ennius rode at the victor's side, and the Muses had their share in the triumph:

Ennius ad dextram victoris, tempora fronde  
Substringens parili, studiorum almaeque poesis  
Egit honoratum sub tanto auctore triumphum.

(Cp. Claudian, 23, 15-20). "I myself, after 1500 years, have tried to do honor to Scipio on the Capitoline—have tried to fulfil Homer's prophecy concerning me. I shall not tell of Scipio's end, his fall from favor and his death in exile—not mar my tale with these sad things."

And then the *envoi*. "O my 'Africa,' while I toil over your pages, King Robert has died (Jan. 1343), my only hope and patron:

O mea non parvo mihi consummata labore  
Africa, dum crescis, dum te relegensque comansque  
Mulceo, magnanimum mors importuna Robertum  
Intempestive mundo subtraxit egenti,  
Et, mihi praerepta penitus dulcedine vitae,  
Speratum tibi clausit iter.

Live, therefore, in retirement until a brighter day:

Donec ad alterius primordia veneris aevi.  
Tunc iuvenesce, precor, quum iam lux alma poetis  
Commodiorque bonis quum primum affluerit aetas."

This address of the poet to his poem was probably suggested by the closing lines of Statius' *Thebais*:

Durabisne procul dominoque legere superstes,  
O mihi bis senos multum vigilata per annos,  
*Thebais?* etc.

The dedication of the poem (1, 19 ff.) should also be compared

with the dedication of the Thebais, 1, 22-33. Thus Petrarch has:

Tu quoque, Trinacrii moderator maxime regni,  
Hesperiaeque decus atque aevi gloria nostri, . . . .  
Ipse tuos actus meritis ad sidera tollam  
Laudibus . . . .  
Ingenium tentare libet . . .  
Nunc teneras frondes humili de stipite vulsi  
(Scipiade egregio primos comitante paratus)  
Tunc validos carpam ramos, etc,

while Statius has:

Tuque, o Latiae decus addite famae, . . . .  
Tempus erit, cum Pierio tua fortior oestro  
Facta canam: nunc tendo chelyn satis arma referre  
Aonia, etc.<sup>25</sup>

And Africa, 1, 27:

Praeterea in cunctos pronum sibi feceris annos  
Posteritatis iter; quis enim damnare sit ausus  
Quod videat placuisse tibi?

may be compared with Thebais, 12, 812-815:

iam certe praesens tibi Fama benignum  
Stravit iter coepitque novam monstrare futuris.  
Iam te magnanimus dignatur noscere Caesar,  
Itala iam studio discit memoratque iuventus.

Such, then, is the general argument of Petrarch's poem. That is, the first two books are a very clever adaptation, and development, of Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, while the remainder of the poem follows very closely the narrative of Livy. The Fifth book and the Ninth are the most original of the lot. The Fifth book works out the tragic story of Sophonisba, with a wealth of imaginative detail which could have had no place in Livy's prose, and the Ninth is really a sort of epilogue to the whole poem. But there are other original features, even in the other books. A good many of the speeches are Petrarch's own; and he has inserted a good many short similes, which are always apt and effective.

His Latinity is regularly excellent, though he allows himself

<sup>25</sup> Cp. the dedication of Sannazaro's Fourth Eclogue, 7-17.



an occasional solecism—sometimes merely for metrical convenience. Thus he has *iuro . . . quod . . . persequar*, 3, 743; *scio quod*, 7, 412; *iactare . . . quod*, 8, 102; *fateare . . . ut*, 8, 191; *volvebam quod*, 9, 27. And, after the manner of his day, he sometimes uses *se* and *sibi* without any reflexive meaning—for example, four times in Bk. IX: 156, 243, 432, 445.

In the matter of quantity he is much less accurate and classical. (This point is discussed in Corradini's edition, pp. 92-93.) But here also some allowance should be made for the fact that he never published the poem himself, and never regarded it as quite finished.

His care to avoid using the exact language of classical models is well known—"sum quem similitudo delectet, non identitas" (*Fam.* 22, 2; cp. *Fam.* 23, 19). But there are one or two borrowed phrases in the *Africa* which escaped his revision. "Arrectaeque horrore comae," 1, 166, comes from Virgil, *Aen.* 4, 280. "Par nobile fratrum," 3, 118, comes from Horace, *Sat.* 2, 3, 243. The phrase "Cereris genero," 5, 553, is due to Juvenal, *Sat.* 10, 112; "sedesque quietas," 1, 209, to Lucretius, 3, 18.

And there are a few other phrases which are borrowed with only a slight modification: cp. 1, 25, "vacuas quod mulceat aures," with Horace, *Ep.* 1, 16, 26, "vacuas permulceat aures"; 2, 348, "umbra . . . estis pulvisque," with Horace, *Od.* 4, 7, 16, "pulvis et umbra sumus"; 8, 906, "Esquilias fessi dictumque a vimine collem," with Juvenal, 3, 7, "Esquilias dictumque petunt a vimine collem"; 6, 158, "nescit ut esse loco" (of a war-horse), with Virg. *Geor.* 3, 84, "stare loco nescit"; 6, 3, "ingens machina mundi," with Lucretius, 5, 96, "moles et machina mundi"; 3, 437, "ultima nunc bellis agitur ferventibus aetas," with Horace, *Epod.* 16, 1, "altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas"; 5, 753, "cari iniuria fratris," with Virg. *Aen.* 4, 354, "capitisque iniuria cari."

As for the special influence of particular classical models, there is very little to tell. The first guess the reader makes is almost certain to be wrong. If he thinks of the epic of Silius Italicus on the Second Punic War, and assumes that that was a natural model for Petrarch to follow when he wished to treat of the same subject, it need only be said that the poem of Silius

Italicus seems to have been quite unknown in the Middle Ages, and was not discovered till 1417. It was discovered by Poggio in a Swiss monastery, about 75 years after the *Africa* was written—about 43 years after Petrarch's death.

There is, however, another of the later Latin epics which Petrarch undoubtedly knew—the *Thebais* of Statius—and, as I have shown above, both the dedication and the close of the *Africa* have a close parallel in the corresponding parts of the *Thebais*. Moreover, the beginning of the Sixth book (about Sophonisba) is like the beginning of the Eighth book of the *Thebais* (about Amphiaraus). And Petrarch's use of simile is more in the manner of Statius than in that of any other Latin epic.

In the Seventh book of the *Africa*, Carthage and Rome appear before Jupiter, and appeal to him. This reminds one of the debate between Venus and Juno in the Tenth book of the *Aeneid*; but the particular thing which Petrarch had in his mind was probably a passage in Claudian where Rome and Africa appeal to Jupiter. This is in the *De Bello Gildonico*, 17 ff. Again, in the Ninth book the poet Ennius is introduced as accompanying Scipio on his African campaign and sharing in the general's triumph. This has been set down as one of Petrarch's own inventions; but he was merely following an express statement of Claudian—in the preface to his Third book on the Consulate of Stilicho. Compare, in particular, lines 87-88:

Quisquis enim se magna videt gessisse, necesse est  
Diligat aeternos vates et carmina sacra,

with Claudian's preface, 5-6:

Gaudet enim virtus testes sibi iungere Musas;  
Carmen amat quisquis carmine digna gerit.\*

Corradini compares 4, 74, "nominibus quia quum noceat praesentia magnis," with Claudian, 15, 385, "minuit praesentia famam." And there are several other fancies or phrases which suggest that Petrarch was very familiar with the poems of Claudian. Cp. 2, 486, "illa (*sc.* Gloria) vel invitum, fugias

\* Cp. Baptista Mantuanus, *Ecl.* 5, 155-6, *heroica facta* | *Qui faciunt reges heroica carmina laudant.*

licet, illa sequetur," with Claudian, 17, 7 "attamen invitam (sc. Virtutem) blande vestigat et ultro ambit Honor."<sup>17</sup> The epithet in "sidereum iuvenem," 1, 115, is probably due to Claudian's "sidereusque gener," 17, 266; "te sine dulce nihil," 5, 622, may be a reminiscence of Claudian, 5, 268; and "Sardinia flatu pessima pestifero," 6, 239, recalls Claudian's mention of the "pestifer aer" of Sardinia, 15, 514.

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

<sup>17</sup> Cp. *Africa*, 2, 500, Gloria quae meritos sequitur, vel spreta, labores; Seneca, *Ep.* 79, 13, Gloria umbra virtutis est; etiam invitam comitabitur.

## II.—VYĀGHRAMĀRĪ, OR THE LADY TIGER-KILLER: A STUDY OF THE MOTIF OF BLUFF IN HINDU FICTION.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Sukasaptati*<sup>2</sup> there is a story of a quick-witted lady characterized as a Vyāghramārī (Tiger-killer). It goes thus:

"In the village of Deula dwelt a Rajput called Rājasimha. His wife was named Kalahapriyā (Fond-of-quarreling). Once upon a time after an altercation with her husband she set out for her father's house with her two children. While still angry she passed thru many towns and woods, coming at last to a large forest lying near Malaya. . . . On arriving here Kalahapriyā saw a tiger, which, as soon as he perceived her, beat the ground with his tail (in joy), and ran toward her. But when she saw the tiger approaching she put on a bold front, and slapped her children with the flat of her hand, saying, 'Why should you two quarrel because each of you wishes to eat the tiger? Just divide this one and eat him, and after a while we shall see another.' When the tiger heard this, he thought, 'She is the Vyāghramārī (Tiger-killer)!'<sup>3</sup> and his heart was filled with fear and he fled.

"By her innate wit she escaped from the danger of the tiger, Bright one.<sup>4</sup> Anyone else, too, if he possesses wit, escapes great danger in the world.

"A jackal, when he saw the terror-stricken tiger fleeing thru the forest, said to him with a laugh, 'Tiger,<sup>5</sup> from what do you flee in such a fright?'

<sup>1</sup> This article may be considered a further contribution to the encyclopedia of Hindu fiction motifs suggested by Professor Bloomfield in his paper, *On Recurring Psycho Motifs in Hindu Fiction*, and *The Laugh-and-Cry Motif*, *JAOS.* 36. 54 ff. For other contributions see *AJP.* XLII. 309, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Textus simplicior 42-44 (translated here); textus ornatior 52-54; Marathi version 42-44; recensio A 44-46.

<sup>3</sup> For a tale of a lady who killed a tiger with a blow of her fist, see the *Indian Antiquary* 35. 149.

<sup>4</sup> Addressed by the parrot telling the story to Prabhāvatī, the lady for whose instruction he tells it.

<sup>5</sup> Reading *vyāghra* with Mss. LOP instead of *vyāghras*.

"The tiger answered, 'Go, jackal, go yourself to some hiding-place, for she of whom the Scriptures speak, the Vyāghramāri, was about to kill me, but I took my life in my hands and fled in haste from before her.' The jackal replied, 'Tiger, this is a very surprising thing you have told me—that you have taken fright at a mere human lump of meat.' The tiger answered, 'But I saw her before my very eyes slap her two children with the flat of her hand for quarreling because each of them wished to eat me.' The jackal said, 'My lord, let us go to that cheat. If she still looks (boddly) at you even tho face to face with you, then I shall tell you of your opportunity (to attack her) when it arrives.' The tiger answered, 'But, jackal, if you should run away and desert me, then the best of opportunities would be but inopportune.' The jackal said, 'If you feel so, first tie me to your neck; then go quickly.' The tiger did so, and the two of them went to the forest and came to the Vyāghramāri and her children. Thereupon the Vyāghramāri thought, 'This tiger has been led here by the jackal.' And she reviled that jackal, pointing her finger at him threateningly and saying,

"'You villain, you! Formerly you used to give me three tigers at a time. To-day you have brought only one. How do you expect to escape thus? Tell me at once!'

"With these words the Vyāghramāri ran quickly toward them, inspiring such fear that the tiger fled in a panic with the jackal still tied to his neck.

"Again, my lady, by her innate wit she escaped from the danger of the tiger. At all times, slender lady, and in all circumstances wisdom is superior.

"Now the jackal, tied as he was to the tiger's neck, was dragged along by the tiger, who thru fear of the Vyāghramāri was bent on reaching a strange place. His back and feet were rubbed raw, streams of blood flowed from him, and he was as tho on the point of death. Then when he saw the tiger hastily leaping over many rivers and forests, rough ground and smooth, and mountains, he grew anxious to release himself, and he broke into a loud laugh in spite of his pain. The tiger asked him, 'How can you laugh?' 'My lord,' he said, 'I recognized that villainess, the Vyāghramāri, and by your grace I have come alive to this far place. But if that wicked woman should follow the stream of my blood and come upon us from behind, how then

should we save our lives? That was why I laughed. Lord of tigers, compose yourself and reflect!' Then the tiger consented to his suggestion and agreed (to a proposal of separation), loosed the jackal, and fled in haste. The jackal, too, was pleased.

"Wisdom is the best thing, O fair-hipped lady, for those who desire wealth, fame, or happiness; but those without wisdom, O slender-waisted one, obtain only distress.

"The strength of him who is without intelligence is manifest as serving only for the profit of others, even as that of an elephant whose body is like a mountain-peak."

The psychic motif of this story is 'bluff,' that kind of deceit with which a weaker being frightens a stronger enemy or opponent by falsely, but convincingly, claiming superior strength.\* Indian fiction employs it in a variety of ways and with different degrees of artistry; and in this paper I shall discuss it as it exists there, treating it from two points of view. First, I shall characterize the various forms of the motif, indicating and illustrating their range of use. Secondly, in the case of folk, or oral, stories presented I shall endeavor to determine their status in relation to literature, that is, whether their existence in folklore is due to independent oral tradition or to borrowing from literature. The subject of borrowing from literature by the folk has been discussed in my paper *The Pañcatantra in Modern Indian Folklore* (JAOS 39. 1 ff.). Of the 34 oral stories<sup>†</sup> treated in the present essay 10 are derived from literary tales present for our inspection, 5 more appear to be descended from literary antecedents with which I am not acquainted, 2 are folk composites of two or more known literary tales, and 17 are of independent oral existence.

There is probably no people in the world so naïve as to be unacquainted with the efficacy of a bold bluff. Since the times of the most primitive psychological observations man has used it, and doubtless with every success he has smiled furtively at his ill-deserved fortune. Any sort of being may be his dupe.

\*This definition conforms with the use of the term 'bluff' in 'the great American game.'

†Some of these are with variants.

In Hindu fiction it is most frequently an animal; often a demon or spirit, usually regarded by the folk as a stupid, altho powerful, creature; less often a man; and sometimes even a god.

In real life the most exalted use of bluff is in war. Occidental history tells of many a clever leader, who with the odds of battle against him on account of inferiority in number of troops or disadvantageous array, has yet obtained the victory by cleverly counterfeiting superiority. The Hindus, too, recognized the value of a psychological attack, and in their treatises on war the use of bluff is advised. Kāutilya, the classic Hindu authority on the science of royalty, believing that 'prevention is better than cure,' gives the following advice in his *Arthaśāstra* 12. 2:

"If peace is not maintained, he (the King) should say to him (the enemy): 'These kings who came under the control of the Six-fold group<sup>a</sup> have been destroyed. You ought not to pursue the path of these imprudent ones! Consider virtue and profit! For those are enemies in the guise of friends who incite you to rashness, sin, and neglect of profit. It is rashness to fight with heroes who have no regard for their lives. It is sin to cause the loss of life on each side. It is neglect of profit to forsake present wealth and a virtuous friend. The King (*i. e.* I) has friends, and moreover by his wealth he will arouse friends against you who will attack you from all sides. Nor have the Madhyama and neutral states deserted him, and the circle of surrounding states. But you, Sir, have been deserted by them, them who will neglect you when you have been incited (to war), saying, "Again must we suffer loss of wealth and expense. We must be separated from our friend. Then when he has lost his support we shall destroy him with ease." You, Sir, should not listen to enemies who have the appearance of friends, nor annoy your (real) friends (*i. e.* us), nor help your enemies to success, nor incur risk of life and loss of wealth.'"

If war is nevertheless undertaken, and a king finds himself outnumbered by the enemy, he may find counsel in the *Mahābhārata* 12. 3729 ff., where Bhīṣma says:

"A few troops fighting with many should employ the Sūcī-

<sup>a</sup>*I. e.* lust, anger, greed, joy, pride, and intoxication, or, the six courses available in case of war, *i. e.* peace, war, expedition, battle, alliance, and duplicity.

mukha (Needle-mouth) array. When the battle is engaged or imminent he (the leader) should grasp the arms (of his men), and cry out, whether it is true or false, 'They are broken! The enemy are broken! A force of my friends has arrived! Attack without fear!' Brave men should attack then uttering terrifying shouts and war-cries and huzzas; and should sound before them Krakacas and Goviṣāṇa-horns, and drums and Mṛdaṅga-drums and Panava-drums."

The Agni Purāṇa 235. 58-60,<sup>9</sup> suggests the same means of playing upon the enemy's credulity: "When the enemy are weary or asleep, or half emerged from a river or a forest, or the day is cloudy, a king may employ trick warfare to destroy them. Seizing his arms he should shout out, 'They are broken! The enemy are broken! A large force of our friends has arrived! Their leader has been killed here! Their general has been struck down and even their king is lost!' The slaughter of fleeing troops is easily effected."

More details are given in the same work 233. 8 ff., where we read: "I shall explain the resource of illusion<sup>10</sup> based on false portents, and how to terrify the enemy by a bird raised in the camp. One should place a large fire-brand, O Brāhmaṇa, on the tail of this strong bird, and let it fly, and in this way simulate the falling of a meteor. In the same fashion many other portents should be shown. One can create terror among his enemies by many sorts of impostures; thus, astrologers and ascetics should predict the enemy's destruction. A king desirous of conquering territory can intimidate his enemies thus: the favor of the gods should be claimed in the presence of the foe.

<sup>9</sup>This passage and that immediately following it in this paper seem to have been borrowed directly from the Mahābhārata passage quoted above.

<sup>10</sup>Illusion (*māyā*) as a means of fighting an enemy has divine authority in India from very early times. In the Rig Veda it is an extremely efficacious weapon when employed by Indra. *Māyā* and *prapañca*, which in Hindu philosophy have a technical meaning of 'illusion,' in the familiar language also have a meaning of 'trick' or 'deceit,' at times corresponding almost exactly with our American 'bluff.' Indra's use of illusion or jugglery is such a commonplace that in classical Sanskrit the usual word for jugglery is *indrajāla* (Indra's net). In the Mahābhārata the heroes often employ illusion as a weapon.



'A force of our friends has come! Attack without fear!' Thus should he (the King) speak when the battle is engaged, 'All our enemies are broken!' They should utter war-cries and huzzas, and likewise the enemy should be reported defeated. 'The King is strengthened with the help of the gods; he is armed for the battle.' I shall explain the use of jugglery. The King should exhibit (a figure of) Indra at the proper time. He should display a four-fold army as tho it were a force obtained for help from the gods. He should send a (magic) rain of blood upon the enemy. On the roof of his palace he should show (false) severed heads of his foes."

Here we see astrology, religion, and magic, all used as means of terrifying the enemy. Even in ancient India a king at war felt a value in the claim, 'The Lord is on our side,' and he eagerly claimed divine favor, substantiating his claims by counterfeiting evidences of heavenly assistance.

That king in ancient India who had mastered magic must have been invincible if he employed it as the Agni Purāṇa in a third passage (240. 64 ff.) and other books advise. He was to use jugglery (*indrajāla*) to produce apparitions of *vetālas* (vampires) and *pīśācas* (kind of demons), meteors, columns of water, darkness, clouds, and hallucinations of advancing armies or reverses. Surely, no foe could have been courageous enough to withstand this sort of warfare.

War, however, is not the sole sphere of bluff. Private life employs it also, and most of the stories motivated by it have a fabular character, carrying with them morals applicable to daily conduct. The *Pañcatantra*, the *Sukasaptati*, and other books that teach *nīti*, or the regulation of one's conduct by the dictates of expediency, use it in a loose way to exemplify the favorite Hindu maxim, 'brain beats brawn.' The clever man, we are constantly told, need fear no danger, for quick wit can always save him. But oddly enough, altho the Hindus laud *buddhi* (intelligence) as an expedient for the endangered, they have not differentiated and classified the various sorts of *buddhi* a man may employ—as would be in keeping with their usual habits of cataloguing the parts of any subject—and bluff is with them only one of many unparticularized devices that illustrate its efficacy.

Among the folk the moral is not always indicated, and with

them bluff stories are often told for no other reason than that the gullibility of a tiger or a demon, and the cleverness of a man, a jackal, a hare, or a mouse-deer, give rise to situations that stimulate the popular sense of humor.

The means of bluff are many, varying from deeply subtle suggestion to the baldest claims of terrifying power. But the degree of cleverness with which the ruse is perpetrated never affects its success. It is rather the courage of the perpetrator that determines the result, and the ingenuity of the trick represents only the personal equation of the story-teller. We shall see, then, a mouse-deer frightening a tiger by a mere glance, and, in contrast to this delicate suggestion, a man subduing a demon by a bare threat direct. The most artistic presentation of the motif will appear in the stories that illustrate 'accidental bluff,' where in a sort of prologue to the main part of the tale a demon or a tiger is terrified by the mention of an unfamiliar, and in reality non-existent, creature, and thus renders himself psychically susceptible to bluff.

The bluffs themselves show little variety; as a rule they are threats to eat or merely to kill. One group of stories hinges on the fear of a tiger or demon that he will be 'bagged.' A tiger may be afraid that his tail will be twisted, or that a clod of mud will be thrown in his eye. The threat is sometimes vague, unspecified, in which case it is all the more potent. A false claim of relationship with the great at times saves a weak animal from a stronger. A mere noise serves to frighten a tiger; and a guilty conscience lays thieves open to fear when they hear a rustle in the branches of the tree under which they are sitting.

While bluff generally springs from intention on the part of the agent, there are many instances in which its inception is the result of accident or indirection. The animal or bhūta (demon) is not duped by a conscious effort of the hero; rather he is the victim of his own illusions. This might be called the 'middle voice' of bluff, for the deceived deceives himself. When the hero discovers the deluded creature's error, he turns it to his own advantage.

Most bluffs attempted are successful, but occasionally the fiction shows one that fails. The reason, of course, always lies in the agent's lack of moral courage to support the part he has assumed.

The *locus classicus* of the bluff motif is the story from the *Sukasaptati*, translated above. This tale typifies a large group of stories in which the dupe is a lion, tiger, or leopard who, while fleeing from the bluffer, is met by a friend or follower at whose urging he turns back. To make sure that this friend will not desert him and deprive him of his support, either physical or moral, he ties him to himself. When they come again into the presence of the bluffer, the latter shows himself able to meet the new danger, and terrifies his dupe a second time. The friend, unable to release himself from the bond, comes to grief. As good a title as any for this type is 'The Close Alliance,' the heading given a folk version in *Steel and Temple, Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 133 (*Tales of the Punjab*, p. 123).

This group itself shows several easily distinguishable varieties. The first of these portrays a human being as the bluffer, who in the two cases of its occurrence in India is a woman. The *Sukasaptati* illustrates it in literature; the tale in *Wide-Awake Stories* offers it in folklore. I analyze the latter.

A tiger one day accosted a farmer engaged in plowing and demanded his two bullocks. The farmer saved them by promising to bring the tiger his wife's milch cow in their stead. This arrangement, however, did not suit his wife, and she planned to save all their animals. She dressed herself as a soldier, and then rode boldly toward the field in which the tiger was awaiting his dinner. There she coolly called out, 'Now, please the powers! I may find a tiger in this place; for I haven't tasted tiger's meat since yesterday, when, as luck would have it, I ate three for breakfast.' The tiger was panic-stricken and bolted. As he ran, a jackal saw him, stopped him, heard his story, saw thru the deceit, and at last persuaded the tiger to return, altho only by agreeing that their tails should be tied together. But the woman met the new danger by calling out, 'How very kind of you, dear Mr. Jackal, to bring me such a nice fat tiger. I shan't be a moment finishing my share of him, and then you can have the bones.' On hearing these words, the tiger thought himself betrayed, and again broke into wild flight, which ended only when he was exhausted and the jackal dead from the bumps and bruises he had received.

The oral tale is too dissimilar from the various versions of the *Sukasaptati* to be directly traceable to any of them. The dif-

ference in stage-setting, the disguise of the woman and the consequent elimination of any allusion to 'the Vyāghramāri mentioned by the Scriptures,'<sup>11</sup> the death of the jackal, who in the Śukasaptati gains his release—these are the chief variations. One of these, however, the death of the jackal, is paralleled in certain literary versions treated below which are related to that of the Śukasaptati. The natural inference is that the oral version somewhere in its tradition has united these literary versions, or has been derived from another, and to me unknown, literary version that has combined them.<sup>12</sup> There are doubtless some differences for which faulty oral tradition is responsible.

In all the remaining occurrences of 'The Close Alliance' an animal is the hero. That which most nearly approximates the Śukasaptati story is found in literature in two variants—Meghavijaya's Pañcākhyānoddāra IV. 13; and Pañcākhyānavārttika 2 (Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 139).<sup>13</sup> I translate from Meghavijaya:

"Somewhere in a certain forest a jackal, at the time of his wife's confinement, found the empty cave of a lion and entered it. There he saw the footprints of a tiger, but he planned a trick. 'My dear,' he said to his wife, 'I shall stand at the door. When I see the tiger approaching, I shall ask you, "Why does Prince Raṇakaṇa cry?" Then you must reply, "Siṃha-damanaka (Lion-conqueror), the Prince craves tiger meat."' After giving his wife these instructions, he took his place at the door. When the tiger appeared these two did just as they had planned, and the tiger fled. As he was fleeing, however, a certain monkey, to restore his courage, said to him, 'That must be only a bluff; therefore do not flee!' And so saying he tied his tail to that of the tiger and led him back. But when the jackal saw the two of them coming this time, he questioned his

<sup>11</sup> Not all the versions of the Śukasaptati have the words 'mentioned by the Scriptures,' but they all imply that a 'Lady Tiger-killer' was a creature of generally admitted existence.

<sup>12</sup> Some vernacular version of the Śukasaptati may be a partial source. Such are numerous. See R. Schmidt, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes herausgegeben von der DMG* 10, No. 1, p. vii; and Garoin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue* (2d ed.) I, p. 552.

<sup>13</sup> Also found in Vaccharāja's Pañcākhyāna Caupai (Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 111).

wife again with tricky words in just the same way as before, and she gave him just the same sort of reply. Thereupon he said, 'My dear, stop the child's crying! My friend, the monkey, has restored confidence to the tiger that fled, and is bringing him here.' The tiger gave a gasp and broke into flight, while the monkey was dragged along by the tail until he died.

"The jackal was in the recess of the cave; the lion stood at its entrance. The monkey suffered the destruction that pertained to his insipid act."

The story in the *Pañcākhyānavārttika* explains some points which are not clear in that of *Meghavijaya*. In a prologue to the main part of the story we read that a certain king had killed so many lions that he had earned for himself the sobriquet of 'Simhamāra (Lion-killer),' and all the lions had fled from his kingdom in fear. Therefore, when the jackals in the cave heard the lion approaching, the female addressed her mate as 'King Simhamāra.' The lion thought that this notorious person was in his cave and fled. We now see why the male jackal instructs his wife to call him 'Simhadamanaka (Lion-conqueror').<sup>14</sup> These two names are significant in casting light upon the name 'Vyāghramāri (Tiger-killer)' of the *Sukasaptati*, and indicate a very close relationship between the three stories. The story in the *Pañcākhyānavārttika* seems nearest to the common progenitor of the three. *Meghavijaya's* tale is transparently secondary. It makes a tiger the victim, but it is evident that it had a prototype which assigned this part to a lion, as the story itself shows. The jackals enter a lion's cave; the female addresses the male as *Lion-conqueror*; and finally, the catch verse of the story says that the jackals frightened a lion. The case against the primacy of the *Sukasaptati* story is not quite so clear. The strongest point is that it is the only Indian literary version I have seen that makes a human being

<sup>14</sup>Hertel (*Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, 1906, p. 268) has quite misinterpreted this passage. He says, 'Löwe (i. e. *simha*, the first member of the compound *simhadamanaka*, which he does not understand and therefore divides) ist sicherlich ein Einschub.' Having rejected *simha*, he wishes to treat *damanaka* as the name of the male jackal. His only authority for making this assumption is the fact that *Damanaka* is the name of the tricky jackal in the frame story of *Pañcatantra* I.

the perpetrator of the deceit.<sup>15</sup> This would argue that a change had been made in that single version. The reason for such a change is not hard to find. Prabhāvatī, the lady to whom the parrot tells the stories of the Sūkasaptati, contemplates a risky act. The parrot tells her to carry out her purpose, provided she is as clever in times of sudden danger as certain people or animals who are the heroes or heroines of the separate tales that comprise the work. Since he is advising a woman, the parrot draws the majority of his illustrations from the extensive amount of Hindu fiction dealing with female trickiness. In the case of the Vyāghramārī story, the capable compiler of the Sūkasaptati, who shows originality in other parts of his work, has endeavored to make his illustration especially *à propos* by giving to Prabhāvatī the example of a clever woman to admire, rather than that of an animal, and has therefore made the necessary change from his source. Consequently we read of a woman who convinces a tiger that she is the 'Vyāghramārī mentioned by the Scriptures,' and not of a jackal who claims to be 'King Lion-killer' or 'King Lion-conqueror.'

A variety of 'The Close Alliance' similar to that of Meghavijaya is found in the Tutinameh, the Persian recension of the Sūkasaptati (Nakhshabi 30. 1; Kadiri 14; Rosen's translation of the Turkish, *Das Papageienbuch* II, p. 122). Wood, *In and Out of Chanda*, p. 59, offers it in English as a translation of a Hindi folk story, presumably oral. His rendering is a good paraphrase of the translations of Kadiri's tale. His hero, how-

<sup>15</sup> In Nakhshabi's Tutinameh 29, and Rosen's translation of the Turkish, *Das Papageienbuch* II, p. 136, there is a version of 'The Close Alliance' in which a woman threatens that she (in the Turkish, her sister), being a witch, will destroy the tiger. This story is badly garbled in Kadiri's Tutinameh 20. In the damsel's sixth tale in the Sindibadnameh a robber boldly jumps on a lion and rides off, the lion being thoroly cowed. The man later swings off into a tree. A monkey who brings the lion back is killed by the man. (See Clouston, *The Book of Sindibad*, p. 69; Benfey, *Pantschatantra* I, p. 504; Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes* 8. 67). This story is found in the *Pantschatantra* (Textus Simplicior V. 9; Pārābhadra V. 9; Meghavijaya V. 9; and later descendants of them), but there the bluff element is lacking. Another Persian version shows a man as hero and a Ghūl as dupe, appearing in Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia* II, p. 89 (according to Benfey, *Pantschatantra* I, p. 506).

ever, is a jackal while in the Persian it is a *siahgush* (lynx).<sup>16</sup> His story contains a 'Slokha' (1) of badly edited Sanskrit which is equivalent to No. 106 in the first edition of Böhrling's *Indische Sprüche*. This tale and three others that he publishes seem to be translations from some vernacular version of the Tulinameh. For references to such, see Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue* (2d ed.) I, pp. 256, 494, 551, 552; and Pertsch, *ZDMG* 21. 507.

The best folk analogue to the story in Meghavijaya or his prototype is found in O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, p. 76. The hero is a jackal, the dupe a tiger, and the tiger's friend a baboon. The folk story differs from Meghavijaya in that when the tiger returns with the baboon the jackal addresses the baboon, not the female jackal, and scolds him for bringing only one tiger. In this respect, however, it agrees with the Pañcākhyanāvarttika and the Sukasaptati. In the folk-tale no mention is made of a notorious lion-killer or tiger-killer which the jackal claims to be. This subtle point has been lost in oral tradition. A tiger plays the part that was taken by a lion in the literary original of Meghavijaya, as we have seen above, but in Indian fiction the lion and the tiger are at all times likely to be substituted for each other. The last matter of difference is that in the oral story the baboon does not die, but is dragged along by the tiger until at last he loses his tail. This is a familiar incident in a number of Santal stories,<sup>17</sup> and the Tibetan folklore seems to have borrowed it from them.

A similar example of 'The Close Alliance' comes from Ceylon, reported by Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon* I, p. 213. The actors are a female mouse-deer that creeps into a cave where she gives birth to two young, a leopard which she fright-

<sup>16</sup> It is difficult to see how the lynx should come to take the place of the jackal here. Is it possible that the Persian *siahgush* (lynx) is a mistranslation, based on popular etymology, of some Sanskrit compound meaning 'Lion-killer,' as in the stories discussed above, of which the first member was *simha* represented in the Persian by *siah*?

<sup>17</sup> See *The Orientalist* 1, p. 261; Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 340, where, in a similar situation, all the hair is scraped from a jackal's tail. Note the story from McCulloch, *Bengali Household Tales*, p. 305, discussed below, where a tiger loses his tail. Stories will also appear in this paper in which men twist off a tiger's tail.

ens, and a jackal that returns with him, the two being tied together around the neck with a creeper. When they approach, the mouse-deer speaks both to her young and to the jackal. The leopard runs, and the jackal is choked by the creeper until he dies and his mouth opens in a grin. The leopard thinks the jackal is deriding him for his fear, and he justifies his flight on the ground that he has escaped injury, saying, 'The laugh is at the jackal-artificer. I was frightened and there is no blood on *my* body.' The differences between this story and that of Meghavijaya or his prototype are for the most part only folk corruptions. Instead of a pair of animals in the cave we have only the female who plays the parts taken by two in the original. The leopard and the jackal are tied together in a unique fashion. The grin on the dead jackal's face calls to mind the real laugh of the jackal in a similar predicament in the Sukasaptati. The tiger is not found in Ceylon, and his place has been taken by the native leopard.<sup>18</sup> The mouse-deer as the clever animal occurs in other Sinhalese stories.<sup>19</sup>

In a note Parker comments on two other versions of this story from Ceylon. One is published in *The Orientalist* 4. 79, where, he says, 'the animals that went to the cave are wrongly termed tiger and fox, which are not found in Ceylon.' The tiger, however, suggests a better tradition than that of his own story, since it agrees more closely with its literary source. In the other variant the bluffer is a hind and the dupe a tiger. These two animals bring to mind the Northern Buddhist story translated by S. Julien, *Les Avadanas* II, p. 146, an inferior version, in which a monkey, wishing the death of a stag, leads a tiger to him. The stag says to the monkey, 'My friend, you promised me ten tiger skins; to-day you bring me only one; you still owe me nine.' The tiger runs for his life. This story may exist in Southern Buddhist literature, altho I have not yet seen it there, and if so it may be at least the partial source of the oral tale.

Another version of 'The Close Alliance' is found in McCul-

<sup>18</sup> Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon* I, p. 214, note.

<sup>19</sup> See Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon* I, p. 35; III, p. 3. The mouse-deer regularly has this character in Malayan folklore, and Sinhalese folklore has doubtless been influenced thereby.



loch, *Bengali Household Tales*, p. 305. The heroes are a pair of goats that live with their young in a pipal tree. When the tiger comes, the he-goat scolds the kids for not being satisfied with the five tigers, three bears, two rhinoceroses, and six buffaloes they have just eaten, but he promises them the tiger which is approaching. A monkey brings back the tiger, and the goat frightens him again. He pulls one way, the monkey another, until at last the tiger's tail breaks off. This folk-tale is a hybrid. The goat as a hero and the list of animals he enumerates as comprising his children's latest meal come from a group of stories found in Dubois's and other Southern versions of the *Pañcatantra*. These stories will be discussed below. The rest of the folk story is equivalent to the corresponding portions of Meghavijaya's tale, with the exception of the incident of the loss of the tiger's tail. This comes from Santali folklore (see foot-note above). The Bengali story either is descended from a literary version in which the tales just mentioned have been fused, or else has itself combined them after securing the parts separately. The first explanation seems the more probable.

The version of Dubois' *Pantcha-Tantra*, p. 99, portrays the goat cleverly utilizing an anatomical peculiarity. He started to enter a cave, but found it occupied by a lion. However, he advanced boldly. The lion was disconcerted and asked, 'Who are you with your long beard?' The buck replied, 'I am a devotee of Siva. I have promised this divinity to devour in his honor one hundred and one tigers, twenty-five elephants, and ten lions. At the same time I vowed to let my beard grow until I should have fulfilled my promise. I have already devoured the hundred and one tigers and the twenty-five elephants, and at present I am on the hunt for the lions. As soon as I have devoured ten, my vow will be fulfilled, and I shall then be able to cut off my long beard.' The lion fled; a fox met him; and they returned together (no mention is made of tail-tying, but the incident obviously belongs in the story). As they drew near, the goat upbraided the fox for bringing only one lion when he had orders to bring ten. The lion fled again.

This story is a composite. From the beginning to the point where the lion flees it is nearly identical with the story found

in Southern Pañcatantra amplior I. 28, III. 3, IV. 2.<sup>20</sup> These three citations combined would approximate the first part of Meghaviṣaya I. 22 and Pūrṇabhadra's Pañcatantra I. 20, in which, however, the lion afterwards discovers that the goat is a grass-eater, and kills him. Dubois's story is a combination of Meghaviṣaya IV. 13 (The Close Alliance) with either Meghaviṣaya I. 20 or the three stories of Southern Pañcatantra amplior just mentioned.

A tale intrinsically near that of Dubois but geographically remote from it exists in the Himalayas and is reported in G. D. Upreti, *Proverbs and Folklore of Kumaun and Garwhal*, p. 12. No mention is made of a vow, but the omission is due to faulty oral tradition, since the incident clearly belongs in the story. The *dramatis personae* are a he-goat, a leopard, and a jackal. The scene is a forest as in Southern Pañcatantra amplior and Meghaviṣaya I. 20, not a cave as in Dubois. The tying of tails, missing in Dubois, is told here in full. Both the attacking parties perish, while Dubois's tale fails to indicate such a fate for either. The Himalayan oral story plainly shows its parentage to be that ascribed to Dubois's tale.

Santal folklore also has a descendant of this hybrid, which is reported twice: *The Orientalist* 1, p. 261; Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 339. It is a distinctly inferior version, badly garbled. In one variant the tail is torn from a monkey; in the other the hair is scraped from that of a jackal.

Our last version of 'The Close Alliance' comes from Farther India. It is reported three times: Skeat, *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest*, p. 41; Smeaton, *The Loyal Karens of Burmah*, p. 128; Dähnhardt, *Natursagen* 4, p. 278 (quoted from *Globus* 81, p. 302). These three variants are essentially the same. An elephant and a tiger had a bet as to which emitted the more fearful cry. The tiger won, and the elephant, by the terms of the wager, was to become his prey. He secured a delay to settle up his family affairs. A hare (in Skeat's story a mouse-deer) heard of the elephant's trouble and offered to

<sup>20</sup> This combined story has an oral representative in P. V. Ramaswami Raju, *Indian Fables*, p. 104. A lion has terrorized a forest. To drive him away a goat presents himself at his cave and frightens him with his long beard.

save him. When the time came for the tiger to eat the elephant, the latter lay down as tho dead and the hare stood upon his body.<sup>21</sup> As soon as the tiger came in sight, the hare began to pull at the elephant's trunk or to lift his ear. At this the elephant would raise his head or turn over, and the tiger thought the hare was moving the body by main strength. He was so terrified at this display of might that when the hare, in answer to his inquiries, expressed the intention of eating him for desert, he fled. A monkey met him, and the two returned tied together. When they drew near, the hare said to the monkey, 'My friend, one tiger is not enough to pay the debt you owe me.' The tiger suspecting treachery dashed off, and the monkey, of course, paid the penalty for meddling. This form of 'The Close Alliance' is without literary analogue, as far as I know. The setting, a bet between an elephant and a tiger, is unique, as is also the trick by which the hare convinces the tiger of his strength. The hare's charge of indebtedness against the monkey is similar to that which the stag makes against the monkey in S. Julien, *Les Avadanas* II, p. 146 (see above). If there is a Southern Buddhist story corresponding to this from Northern Buddhist literature—and I suspect such a one exists—it may have influenced this oral tale.

So much for 'The Close Alliance'!

In another type of bluff story an endangered man escapes by 'Out-Heroding Herod.' 'You may be Rakshas (Skt. *rākṣasa*, demon),' he says to his enemy, 'but I am a Bakshas; and Bakshases are far more terrible than Rakshases.' In variants the man claims to be a Prakshas or a Yakshas, which names, like Bakshas, are fashioned on Rakshas by the analogy of sound. 'The Rakshas-eating Bakshas' appears characteristically in Frere, *Old Deccan Days* (2d ed.), p. 206.

A blind man and a deaf man travelling together find an ass, a large chattee (earthenware jar), and a few ants. At night they enter an empty building, which they believe to be a temple. In reality it is the home of a Rakshas who comes to the door later in the night and demands admittance. 'Who are you?' asks the blind man. 'I'm a Rakshas,' is the answer. 'Oh, you're a Rakshas, are you!' calls out the blind man, 'Well,

<sup>21</sup> So in Smeaton; slightly different in Skeat.

if you're Rakshas, I'm Bakshas; and Bakshas is as good as Rakshas.' The incredulous Rakshas says there is no such creature. The blind man replies that Bakshas is the father of Rakshas. The Rakshas wishes proofs. 'Let me see your face!' he demands. The men show him the donkey's nose. He is satisfied with this and asks to see his father's body. They roll the chattee past the door. He then wants to hear the Bakshas scream; for the Rakshas is notorious for his cry and that of the Rakshas's father should be even more terrifying. The men put the ants in the donkey's ears, and, when they bite, the donkey brays in pain. The Rakshas is completely satisfied now, and slinks away. In the morning the men rob the house and continue on their journey. Meanwhile the Rakshas has been awaiting to catch a glimpse of the Bakshas by day, and when he sees two men and a donkey emerge from his house he is enraged at the deceit practised upon him. He calls six of his fellows to his aid, and they pursue the men. The latter climb a tree, and the Rakshases try to reach them by mounting upon each other's shoulders. This sight so alarms the deaf man that he accidentally pushes the blind man down upon them, and they all fall to the ground in a heap.<sup>22</sup> But the blind man catches one of the Rakshases by the ear, and calls out, 'Where am I?' 'Never mind, brother,' answers the deaf man, 'hold on as tight as you can. I'm coming, I'm coming.' At this all the Rakshases flee, and leave the field and the stolen treasure to the men.

Four variants of this story, two of them poor, are reported from Ceylon in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon* II, pp. 252 ff. The man calls himself a Prakshas or a Yakshas. He exhibits more articles as parts of his body, for example, winnowing-trays as ears. He and a companion are engaged in rescuing a woman—sometimes said to be a sister—from a Rakshas who has abducted her. In a version of the story in Natesa Sastri, *Indian Folk-Tales*, p. 90,<sup>23</sup> the woman is married to a

<sup>22</sup> A frequent incident. See below; also Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 81; Campbell, *Santal Folk Tales*, p. 19; *Indian Antiquary* 4, p. 258; Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 38; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon* II, p. 293.

<sup>23</sup> Also published in *Indian Antiquary* 14, p. 135; *Folklore in Southern India*, p. 116; Kingscote and Natesa Sastri, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 119.

tiger. The men claim no extra-human powers and assume no especial name, but the omission of these points is accidental. A reduced grade of this story appears in McCulloch, *Bengali Household Tales*, p. 263. A brave man voluntarily takes the place of an unfortunate Brahman about to be offered to a Raqhōshi (Bengali for *rākṣasi*).<sup>24</sup> He tells the Raqhōshi that he is Kaqhōsh, the Raqhōshes' Jōm (Skt. *Yama*) or 'Doom.' There is an extremely faint reproduction of the story in Shovona Devi, *The Orient Pearls*, p. 81. I know no literary representative of 'The Rakshas-eating Bakshas.'

A particularly subtle bluff, which might be designated 'pantomimic bluff,' furnishes a curious sequel to a Malay folk version of the frame story of Pañcatantra I, appearing in Skeat, *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest*, p. 31. A mouse-deer which has watched the battle of the two bulls (not a lion and a bull as in the literary stories) prepares to eat the dead bull, and invites the tiger to the feast. The tiger collects boughs with which to make a shelter, and as he awkwardly scrambles up the river bank with his load he notices the mouse-deer above him shivering. 'What in the world makes you shiver so, Friend Mouse-deer?' he asks. The mouse-deer replies ferociously, 'I am quivering with anticipation.' Now the tiger has all along thought that the mouse-deer killed the bull, and at these words, suspecting that he is to be the next victim, he turns tail and flees. This use of the motif has no basis in literature.

A bluff may be couched in a riddle, as in a Santal story in the *Indian Antiquary* 4, p. 257. Two brothers and a tiger sitting around a fire ask riddles. Says the tiger, 'One I will eat for breakfast, and another like it for supper.' The men profess themselves unable to guess the riddle, but in their turn propose a riddle. 'One will twist the tail and the other will wring the ear.' Unlike the men, the tiger is good at guessing riddles, promptly recognizes himself as the intended victim,<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> A stock motif. See the story of Jimūtavāhana and Śaṅkacūḍa in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*; Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Panjab with Indian Nights' Entertainment*, p. 88; Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 39; Tawney, *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* I, pp. 174 ff.; *Mahābhārata* I. 160. 6223 ff. (Calcutta ed.); and many other places.

<sup>25</sup> Compare Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 334, where a 'headless Raja' 'gets the nerve' of a 'tailless tiger.'

and leaps away; but the men seize his tail and twist it off. The same incident occurs in Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 80, but there the threats are not veiled in riddles. After securing the tiger's tail, the men eat it and find it so tasty that they track the tiger, kill him, and eat the rest of him.<sup>26</sup> None of these incidents has a literary basis, as far as I know.

Similar to bluff veiled in riddles is that conveyed by means of a story, as in Rouse, *The Talking Thrush*, pp. 163 and 214. A clever kid in danger of being eaten by a tigress tricks her into eating one of her own two cubs. Eager for revenge, the tigress asks advice of an old, one-eyed tiger,<sup>27</sup> and they go together to her cave where they find the kid playing with the remaining cub. The one-eyed tiger offers to tell a story. 'When I eat little kids,' he says, 'four of them make me a mouthful; and I am coming one of these days to make a mouthful of you and your brother and sisters.' 'Capital, capital, Nuncle One-eye!' says Roley, clapping his paws, 'What good stories you do tell, Nuncle One-eye! Now I'll tell you a story. When you come to eat us up, Skipster<sup>28</sup> will hold you by the forelegs, and Jumpster will hold you by the hindlegs, and Poley will hold your head, and Roley will chop it off, if only mother will give us a light.' The stupid tiger thinks it all true, and takes to his heels. On his way he meets six other tigers. 'Oh my friends!' he says, 'I have such a treat for you! A fine fat kid crying out to be killed!' The six believe him, and set out for the kid's home. The latter climbs a tree. The tigers jump for him but miss, and then make a ladder of themselves beside the tree with One-eye at the bottom. Suddenly the kid calls out, 'Mother, give me a lump of mud, and I'll hit the brute in his sound eye, and then we will finish him off.' At this One-eye gives a start, and down topple all seven tigers in a heap, scratching and biting, and thinking themselves attacked; and

<sup>26</sup> Similarly in *The Orientalist* 1, p. 261, when the monkey and tiger flee tied together, the monkey's tail breaks off. The tiger eats it, finds it sweet, and kills the monkey to eat the rest of him.

<sup>27</sup> In Hindu fiction a one-eyed creature is considered especially shrewd and malevolent.

<sup>28</sup> This and the following names designate members of the kid's family.

as soon as they can scramble to their feet they dash off. Thereafter the goats are left in peace.

This unique story exhibits an acute appreciation of psychology in selecting the tiger's good eye for attack, an organ especially dear to him in view of the loss of its mate. In many other instances a coward with his helpers is overreached by means of a threat directed against him personally. The situation is usually that of two men in a tree, one of whom falls down upon the attackers, while the other shouts to him to seize the fattest, or to kill the one at the bottom or the largest.<sup>20</sup>

An extraordinarily ingenious way of playing upon the foe's gullibility is ascribed to the barber, proverbially a shrewd character in India,<sup>20</sup> who seems to sharpen his wits with his razor. When threatened by a bhūta (spirit), with true presence of mind he thrusts his mirror before the bhūta's face, and convinces him, by means of his own reflection, that he has already captured a number of bhūtas and put them in his bag, and that he will capture this bhūta too. He may even go so far as to assert that the bhūta is already caught and bagged by him. This story, best entitled 'The Barber, the Ghost, and the Looking-glass,' is found in L. B. Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal* (2d ed.), p. 247. The ghost secures immunity by presenting the barber with a large sum of money and promising to fill a granary with paddy for him. His uncle sees him filling the granary, and upon hearing his tale laughs it to scorn, and goes with his nephew to punish the barber. But when they arrive, the barber holds the mirror before the uncle's face, and says, 'Come now, I'll put you also in the bag.' The uncle ghost in his turn is frightened and escapes by erecting a granary and filling it with husked rice, not mere paddy. A variant appears in R. S. Mukharji, *Indian Folklore*, p. 100.<sup>21</sup>

In Gordon, *Indian Folk Tales* (2d ed.), p. 63, a barber practises a similar imposition upon a tiger. In Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 35, the same story occurs, altho poor oral tradition has

<sup>20</sup> For references, see above (footnote) and stories below.

<sup>20</sup> See Tawney, *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* I, p. 288; and notice the proverb in *Indian Antiquary* 23, p. 76, 'A barber among men, a crow among birds.'

<sup>21</sup> This story without the motif of bluff is found in the *Indian Antiquary* 1, p. 143.

lost the clever touch of the use of a mirror, and the barber subdues the tiger by sharpening his razor and making a direct threat. After receiving money from the tiger, the barber takes a fakir with him to the jungle where he had met the tiger and intimidates four hundred tigers living there by threatening to cut off their ears. At a still later time when the two men are hidden in a tree the four hundred tigers hold a conference on the ground below. The fakir loses his hold on the tree thru terror and falls down upon the tigers. Instantly the barber shouts out, 'Now cut off their ears! Cut off their ears!' The four hundred tigers scatter.

Santal folklore has two poor illustrations of this use of the motif of bluff: Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, pp. 156 and 288. In the first citation a hunter deceives a notorious tiger with three pictures; in the second a shrewd boy, anxious to kill a Rakshas (*rākṣasa*), tells him to look at the Rakshases confined in a box he carries, and he offers him a box with mirrors on its top. As the Rakshas looks, the boy cuts off his head with a battle-axe.

'The Barber, the Ghost, and the Looking-glass,' with its variants, has no parallel in literature, to the best of my knowledge.

The simple threat to catch and behead a bhūta avails a man in Upreti, *Proverbs and Folklore of Kumaun and Garwhal*, p. 10. The story will be discussed below in the section devoted to unsuccessful bluff. The mere threat to catch serves to reduce a one-eyed jinn to submission in Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 333.

An ancient Buddhist tale, the Pañcāvudha-jātaka (Jātaka No. 55), which is of especial interest to Americans on account of its parallelism to the 'Tar-baby' story in *Uncle Remus*,<sup>22</sup> offers an interesting sort of bluff. Stripped of the religious frills with which the Buddhist story-tellers have ornamented it, it seems to be as follows. The Bodhisatta, a prince skilled in the use of five weapons (*pañcāvudha*), encounters a notorious

<sup>22</sup> The 'Tar-baby' motif also occurs in modern Indian folklore: *Indian Antiquary* 20, p. 29, and 29, p. 400; Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 325; Gordon, *Indian Folk Tales* (2d ed.), p. 67. There is a general treatment of the motif in Dähnhardt, *Natursagen* 4, pp. 26 ff. Cf. *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* II. 740.



monster named 'Sticky-hair.' The prince attacks him successively with his fifty arrows, his sword, his spear, and his club, but these all stick harmlessly in the demon's hair. He then strikes the demon with his hand. That is caught fast. So too his other hand, his two feet, and finally his head with which he butts him. But even tho unable to move and apparently at the demon's mercy, he betrays no fear. 'A very lion of men is this prince,' thinks Sticky-hair. 'How is it,' he asks him, 'that you have no fear of death?' 'Why should I?' answers the Bodhisatta. 'Every life must have its end. Moreover, in my body is a sword of adamant that will chop your inwards into mincemeat; and if you devour me my death will involve yours also.' And the demon concludes that he has spoken the truth and sets him free.

The shadow of the great frequently saves an imperilled creature from destruction. In a Pañcatantra story (Tantrākhyāyika III. 3, etc.) the hares find their drinking-pool fouled and their comrades trampled under foot by elephants. They inform the elephants that they are the protégés of the Moon-god, who will avenge any injury they may suffer, and they substantiate their claim with a clever use of the moon's reflection in the pool.<sup>33</sup> Another Pañcatantra tale (Meghavijaya III. 17; Vaccharāja III. 17; Nirmala Pāṭhaka III. 8; Pañcākhyānavārttika 29) tells how a goat lost in a forest meets an elephant, but avoids death by claiming to be the lion's aunt.<sup>34</sup> Similarly in O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, p. 48, a frog, about to be eaten by a crow, twice escapes by asserting in casual fashion that powerful relatives are at hand who will avenge his death.

A mysterious noise is sometimes sufficient to frighten a wicked creature, provided there is a clever person on hand to turn it to account. In Frere, *Old Deccan Days* (2d ed.), p. 164, a kid is in danger of a jackal. She rubs against a tree and its leaves rustle. 'Run away, jackal, run away,' she says. 'Thou-

<sup>33</sup> A version of this story appears in Pantalu, *Folklore of the Telugus* (3d ed.), p. 49. It is offered as though collected from oral tradition, but like many others in Pantalu's collection it seems to be a translation from Telugu literature.

<sup>34</sup> A garbled version of this story, from which bluff is almost entirely eliminated, appears in Rouse, *The Talking Thrush*, pp. 58 and 204.

sands of jackals have run away at that sound.' The jackal runs. In Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 189, the hero, a dwarf named Spanling, uses a trick similar to one found in the familiar European story of 'Hans in Luck.' His sole possession was a buffalo. This he killed one day in a fit of anger, dried the skin and started to town with it. Being benighted, he climbed a tree, and soon a gang of thieves gathered beneath to divide their booty. He rattled the skin, and the miscreants, already uneasy in conscience, took fright and fled, while Spanling coolly collected the abandoned booty.

There is a story in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon I*, p. 314,<sup>35</sup> of a giant who executed a prearranged deception upon a rival. The two giants had an appointment to fight and were quartered in adjacent rooms of a stone house to await the day set. Sigiris, our hero, feeling none too sure of his superiority, determined to bluff his opponent. He secured an iron nail and dug away a portion of the stone wall between him and his prospective antagonist until only a thin shell remained. He then asked the other giant for tobacco. The latter inquired how he should get it to him. 'By knocking a hole thru the wall with your fist,' answered Sigiris. The other said he could no do this. Thereupon Sigiris drove his own fist thru the prepared spot and took the tobacco.<sup>36</sup> On the day of the fight the rival giant would not meet Sigiris.

<sup>35</sup>The first part of this story is of 'The Valiant Weaver' type. For parallels see Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 89 (*Tales of the Punjab*, p. 80); Frere, *Old Deccan Days* (2d ed.), p. 187; Swynerton, *Romantic Tales from the Panjab with Indian Nights' Entertainment*, p. 358; *The Orientalist* 2, pp. 102 and 176; Busk, *Sagas from the Far East*, p. 181; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon III*, p. 367; Natesa Sastri, *Indian Folk-Tales*, p. 80 (also published in his *Folklore in Southern India*; and in *Indian Antiquary* 14, p. 109; and in Kingscote and Natesa Sastri, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 107); Griggs, *Shan Folk Lore Stories* (published with Barnes, *The Red Mirick*), p. 19; O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, p. 172; Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, pp. 56 and 129. For some of the weaver's lucky accidents, see Chavannes, *Ching Cents Contes et Apologues II*, pp. 140 and 207; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon III*, p. 217.

<sup>36</sup>Compare with this trick a story told in C. J. T. *Folk-lore and Legends, Oriental*, in which a clever man spending the night with a Ghûl offers to squeeze fluid from a stone. At the proper moment he

In some respects the most remarkable of all bluffs is that in Tantrākhyāna 27,<sup>87</sup> where a Brahman is represented as obtaining money from an image of Gaṇeṣa by beating it. A merchant tries the same sort of procedure, but the image seizes him and will not let him go until he pays a fine. 'Beating the God' is also found in the *Indian Antiquary* 26, p. 167, where a rājā uses a rattan on an image of Gaṇeṣa that has stolen a necklace from his wife and has thus brought upon her a long train of misfortunes. Again, in Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 250, a woman intimidates a spirit by threatening to spit upon him.

So far we have dealt only with intentional bluff, but there are numerous instances of an animal or superhuman being who becomes the dupe of his own illusions, reading an unintended threat or fierceness into a guileless word or action of a feeble creature. The victim stupidly misunderstands an innocent expression, and thus renders himself psychically susceptible to bluff. The hero discovers this fact, and uses it to his own advantage.<sup>88</sup>

In a folk story from Southern India a Rakshas is deceived by this sort of subjective stupidity. It is reported twice: Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 273, Natesa Sastri and Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 93 (published also by Natesa Sastri in *Indian Antiquary* 14, p. 79; *Indian Folk-Tales*, p. 69; and in his *Folklore in Southern India*). The latter version is the better. Two

substitutes an egg. Similarly he offers to crush a stone in his hand, and in this case he substitutes a lump of salt. With these and other tricks he deludes the Ghūl and saves his life.

<sup>87</sup>Parallels in Śukasaptati 6; Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara 106 (Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 329).

<sup>88</sup>There are many Hindu stories in which a man or an animal, by virtue of a fortunate accident or a series of them, is generally understood to be possessed of powers which he does not own. He never practises bluff, however, but always tries to run from danger. Professor Bloomfield in *AJP* 40. 1 ff. has treated this motif under the title 'Kākatāliya' (Crow and Palm) after the fable of the crow who settled upon a palm just as it was about to fall, and was thought by the folk nearby to have borne it down by his weight. Other stories illustrating this motif are 'The Valiant Weaver' (mentioned above) and Hariśarma, the Hindu 'Doktor Allwissend.'

famous men, Vayalvallaṇ (Mighty-of-his-mouth) and Kayalvallaṇ (Mighty-of-his-hands), go to a sheepfold to steal a sheep for the *navarātri* festival. There they see the shepherd erect a scarecrow and speak to it as a son, telling it to protect the flock from bhūtas (demons) and kūtas, the latter word representing no real animal, but being a riming addition to 'bhūta' to convey the idea 'and such like.' A bhūta happening to be there hears him, does not understand the significance of 'kūta,' and is terrified lest this creature should appear and overpower him. He takes the form of a sheep, therefore, and hides among the flock. When the two men select their sheep they take him as the fattest, and he is thereupon convinced that he has fallen into the hands of a kūta. He soon commences to struggle, and causes pain to the strong man who is carrying him. At this the wise man perceives the sheep's true character, but with presence of mind says, 'Put down the sheep, and let us tear open its belly, so that we shall each have only one-half of it to carry.' The bhūta, terrified, melts into thin air. When he relates his experience to the other bhūtas, they jeer at him and resolve to put the two 'Mighties' to death. But they are discovered approaching the house, and Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth prepares a stratagem. Waking his wife he has her set the dinner table, and when she calls him he asks what she has to eat. 'Pepper water and vegetables,' she replies. He says angrily, 'What have you done with the three bhūtas our son caught on the way home from school?' She answers, 'The rogue wanted some sweetmeats on coming home. Unfortunately I had none in the house, so he roasted the three bhūtas, and gobbled them up.' This remark discourages the attackers and they leave. A few days later the two friends are benighted in a forest and they climb a pīpal tree. At midnight the bhūtas assemble under this very tree. The sight is too much for the strong man's nerves, and he tumbles down in their midst. Instantly the wise man shouts to him, 'Seize the largest bhūta!' The bhūtas recognize his voice, and flee in panic.

This tale has been exported from the mainland to Ceylon, but there it has had strange treatment. It is found in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon II*, p. 393; and in *The Orientalist*, 4, p.

30.<sup>39</sup> A farmer tells his son to close a hole in a fence lest *koṭiyō-boṭiyō* (leopards and such like) come thru it. A leopard overhears him and recognizes himself as a *koṭiyā* (sg. of *koṭiyō*), but is mystified by *boṭiyā* and fears it. He creeps among the flock and is caught by a thief, but yields thinking the dread *boṭiyā* has him. When the thief finds he has a leopard, he throws him down and enters an abandoned *pansala* (residence of a Buddhist monk). The leopard attacks him, but a jackal assists the man and saves him.<sup>40</sup> The Sinhalese story is a local adaptation of the Tamil story given above. *Bhūta-kūta* has become *koṭiyō-boṭiyō* under the influence of popular etymology. *Kūta* was identified with the local *koṭiyō* and changed to it. It then dominated the compound and the order of members was reversed. *Bhūta* was given the form *boṭiyō*, a meaningless riming addition to *koṭiyō*, as Parker says, and the story was told about a *koṭiyā* (leopard) that feared an imaginary *boṭiyā*.<sup>41</sup>

A few stories of 'The Valiant Weaver' type show the hero becoming aware of the character the misapprehension of others has ascribed to him, and later profiting thereby thru intent. One of these is the story of Sigrīs treated above. Again, in Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 32, when poor foolish Sachūli finds that he has unwittingly terrified five fairies in a forest he makes them give him an inexhaustible pot. There is a Sinhalese story corresponding to this, reported by Parker in his *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon II*, p. 101, where a Devatāwā (sort of divinity) takes the place of the fairies and a peddler that of Sachūli.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> There is a variant of this story in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon III*, p. 367. A similar tale of small merit is found in Campbell, *Santal Folk Tales*, p. 49.

<sup>40</sup> In the story in *The Orientalist* 4, p. 30, the jackal instructs the man by *peraelibāsa*, a secret sort of speech based on the substitution of certain prescribed sounds for others in the current language. For references, see Kingscote and Natesa Sastri, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 190; *Indian Antiquary* 14, p. 155; Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 623.

<sup>41</sup> Natesa Sastri's story may be literary. Others of his collection are; see my paper in *JAOS* 39, pp. 29 and 50.

<sup>42</sup> Both of these stories have sequels in which the inexhaustible pots are stolen. The hero gets others, and these too are stolen. At last he gets a pot containing a stick and a club (in variants other articles occur) which beat the thieves and compel them to make restitution.

Not all bluffs attempted are successful. Failure often results from indiscretion that reveals the would-be perpetrator's true character. He may overact his part, or fail to conceal his fear.

The classic example of bluff that fails or is 'called' is the story of 'The Ass in the Lion's Skin,' found in the Pañcatantra cycle (Tantrākhyāyika III. 1, and many other Indian versions); Jātaka 189; Tutinameh (Nakhshabi 32. 2); and scattered in other places. An ass clothed in a lion's skin feasts for many days in the choicest fields. At last he betrays himself by his bray, usually on seeing a she-ass, and the enraged farmers kill him. A folk version of this story descended from the Tutinameh is reported from Chitral in the *Indian Antiquary* 29, p. 250.

Another well-known tale of a bluff which was only temporarily successful is that of 'The Blue Jackal,' found in nearly all versions of the Pañcatantra (Tantrākhyāyika I. 8, etc.); Sukasaptati (Textus ornatior 15); Tutinameh (Nakhshabi 32. 1).<sup>43</sup> A jackal accidentally falls into a vat of indigo. On his return to the forest he attains to kingship of all the animals by making proper use of his handsome color. All goes well enough until one night he hears the howl of another jackal. At the sound he has to howl also, for if he should not do so all the hair would fall from his body.<sup>44</sup> His true nature is thus revealed and the other animals kill him.

In one story the stupid bhūta whom we have so often seen cruelly deceived comes to his own. In Upreti, *Proverbs and Folklore of Kumaun and Garwhal*, p. 10, we read of a man,

See Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal* (2d ed.), p. 51; Frere, *Old Deccan Days* (2d ed.), p. 174; Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 156; Smeaton, *The Loyal Karens of Burmah*, p. 96; Shovona Devi, *The Orient Pearls*, p. 1; Rouse, *The Talking Thrush*, p. 120; McCulloch, *Bengali Household Tales*, p. 301; Shakespear, *The Lushai-Kuki Clans*, p. 100; Knowles, *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, p. 179; Temple, *Legends of the Panjab* I, p. 19; Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues* III, pp. 256 and 267; Hayavadana Rao, *New Indian Tales*, p. 1; *Indian Antiquary* 16, p. 216; Ramaswami Raju, *Tales of the Sixty Mandarins*, p. 36.

<sup>43</sup> There are three Hindu folk versions of this story, which are discussed by me in *JAOS* 30. 31.

<sup>44</sup> For this strange notion, see also Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales* (Ralston's translation), p. 337; Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues* II, p. 417; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon* III, p. 55.

desperate from poverty, who one night met a bhūta in a cemetery. 'Bind him!' he called to his daughter-in-law. 'Behead him!' he commanded his son and wife. And they bound the bhūta and were about to behead him, when he begged for his life and promised to give five jars of gold for it. A neighbor, anxious to emulate this man, went to the cemetery with his family, but at the command to bind the bhūta his daughter-in-law ran away, and his son and wife were no braver. The event was that the bhūta killed them all.

In a story from Tibet a sheep fails on account of her timidity (O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, p. 60). She and a goat frighten a wolf so badly that he hides in his den. They take turns at watching the entrance, the goat standing guard first. He rubs his horn on a stone. Says the wolf, 'Oh, Brother Goat, what are you doing now?' 'Sharpening a knife to kill you with,' he replies. The wolf trembles. Presently rain falls, and the goat announces that he is collecting water in which to boil the wolf. He scrapes the earth with his hoof, saying that he is preparing a fire-place. 'It will soon be time to finish you off,' he adds. Just then the sheep goes on duty. She too rubs her horn on a rock, but when the wolf asks what she is doing she replies in such timorous tones that he perceives she is 'only bluffing,' and he comes out and kills her.<sup>45</sup> Both this tale and that preceding it in this paper are independent of literature, as far as I know.

We have seen above how 'Beating the God' proves successful for one man but disastrous for another.

Overdoing the part is responsible for failure in two stories in the Jātaka book (Nos. 59 and 60), mere variants of each other. A conch-blower (or drummer) passing thru a forest infested with robbers blows his conch (or beats his drum) to frighten them. At the first sound they run. A companion, the Bodhisatta, now warns him to cease, but he will not be advised and continues. The robbers suspect that they have mistaken their men, return, find two helpless wretches, and rob and beat them.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Similarly in *Indian Antiquary* 22, p. 79, one of two men successfully threatens a tiger, but the other expresses his threats without sufficient firmness of tone, and therefore fails.

<sup>46</sup> A parallel to this story, without the element of bluff, occurs in Hemacandra's *Parīśiṭṭaparvan* II. 694 ff. A farmer habitually frightens

We have already noticed, in discussing 'The Close Alliance,' how a goat, or a ram, sometimes unintentionally and sometimes by design, frightens a tiger with his red eyes and long beard. Not long afterwards the tiger discovers that he is a grass-eater and kills him. Varieties of this story are found in several versions of the Pañcatantra—Pūrṇabhadra I. 20; Meghavijaya I. 22; Tantrākhyāna X 12.

In conclusion I would say that there are many other stories in Hindu fiction illustrating deceit perpetrated by a weaker creature upon a stronger, which, perhaps arbitrarily, I have excluded from consideration in this paper. My reason has been that they are stories in which the perpetrator of the deceit would incur no danger if he failed, and this characteristic I consider essential to that sort of deceit known as bluff. One such story is that of the tortoise who asserted that he could swim across a river more quickly than a certain lion could leap it. With the aid of a confederate stationed on the other bank he falsely convinced the lion that he had spoken truly, for when the lion leaped across the river, the confederate showed himself, and the lion could not distinguish him from the challenger." Other 'quasi-bluff' stories show the hero succeeding thru the direct intervention of a superior power. Such, for example, is the story of 'The Weaver as Viṣṇu,' found in the Pañcatantra (Textus Simplicior I. 5; Pūrṇabhadra I. 8). A carpenter constructs for his friend, a weaver, a wooden machine resembling Garuḍa, the bird on which the god Viṣṇu rides. With the aid of this, the weaver visits a princess by night, who thinks him the god, wins her hand, and is gladly accepted by her parents as

deer from his fields by blowing on a conch. One night a band of robbers, passing by with a herd of stolen cattle, hear him, think themselves pursued, and abandon their booty. On the morrow the farmer finds the cattle and presents them to his fellow-villagers as a divine gift. The next year the occurrence is repeated, but this time the thieves learn that their supposed pursuers are only a single farmer; and they seize him and beat him.

"T. Steele, *The Kusa Jatakya*, p. 257; variants in *The Orientalist* 1, p. 87; Skeat, *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest*, p. 33; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon* I, p. 242; Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 320; Smeaton, *The Loyal Karens of Burmah*, p. 134; Milne and Cochrane, *The Shans at Home*, p. 223.



their son-in-law. In the sequel war arises, and the King calls on the weaver for aid. On the day of battle the latter mounts his wooden Garuḍa, and sets out boldly. Meanwhile the real Garuḍa has heard of the affair, and represents to Viṣṇu the injury his worship will suffer on earth if the false Viṣṇu should be killed. Thereupon the god projects himself into the body of the weaver, causes Garuḍa to enter the wooden bird and his own discus to enter the false discus.<sup>48</sup> Of course, the weaver-Viṣṇu is victorious. It is clear that in this story no bluff of the weaver has won the day; it is rather the help of the god.

W. N. BROWN.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

<sup>48</sup>The motif of 'Entering Another's Body' is the subject of a paper by Professor Bloomfield, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 61. 1 ff.

### III.—COMIC TERMINATIONS IN ARISTOPHANES

#### PART V.

##### VERBS

##### -ῶλλω

Verbs in -ῶλλω are found chiefly in comedy. With the exception of *μωστῶλλω* they do not occur in epic poetry at all. They are colloquial words, sometimes low and vulgar, and even coarse and obscene, e. g., *μῦλλω* (= *βινέω*) Lat. *molo, coeco, δερμῦλλω* (= *δέφω*) *excorio, σαπῦλλω* 'wag the tail,' 'fawn upon,' *στομῦλλω* 'babble,' 'chatter,' 'gabble,' onomatopoeitic words like *βδύλλω* 'funk,' *βρῦλλω* from *βρῦ*, a child's cry for drink, and *μοιμῦλλω* 'suck,' etc.<sup>1</sup> This more or less vulgar character of verbs in -ῶλλω, together with the close similarity between the verbal ending -ῶλλω and the diminutive suffix -υλλος, gave rise to the opinion<sup>2</sup> that such verbs were diminutives, in spite of Priscian's denial<sup>3</sup> of the existence of diminutive verbs in Greek. It is easy to assume that a verb in -ῶλλω is derived from a dim. in -υλλος, especially when the former has a meaning somewhat akin to that of diminutives.<sup>4</sup> But the fact is that most verbs in -ῶλλω are derivatives in *ω* from adjectives in -υλος<sup>5</sup> or other stems in -υλ-, just as the verbal endings -άλλω, -έλλω, -άλλω and -ώλλω come from -άχω, -έχω, ἴχω and -ώχω.<sup>6</sup> A few remain that in the present state of our knowledge can not be accounted for in this way. These are comic and colloquial forms, arising perhaps from analogy. *ἐξαπατῶλλω*, for example, may be regarded as coming from a diminutive form in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Neil on Ar. Eq. 224, 1144.

<sup>2</sup> See Lobeck, Proleg. 125, Schwabe, De Deminut. Graec. et Lat. p. 27, and most editors on Ar. Ach. 657, Eq. 224, Pac. 465, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Keil II, 431.

<sup>4</sup> See Grimm, Deutsche Gram.<sup>3</sup> III 662. One may compare such frequentative verbs in English as *nibble* from *nip*, *tipple* from *tip*, *gobble* from *gob*, *dabble* from *dash*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> E. g., *αἰμύλος αἰμύλλω, καμπύλος καμπύλλω, στρογγύλος στρογγύλλω, στωμύλος στωμύλλω*.

<sup>6</sup> The diminutives in -υλος or (with gemination of λ) -υλλος that are derived from appellatives are, on the other hand, very rare.

-υλλος, just as ἡβυλλιάω is derived from \*ἡβύλλιον. Debrunner,<sup>7</sup> however, suggests that ἐξαπατύλλω was made to conform to the pattern of αἰμύλλω which has the same meaning,<sup>8</sup> and that so also was σαπύλλω which is likewise explained as being equivalent to ἀπατάω. Debrunner says further that the low word δερμύλλω (from δέρμα) may have been influenced in its formation by μύλλω.

This coarse and vulgar suffix has a comic force in the following words:

ἐξαπατύλλω Ach. 657, Eq. 1144, 'gull,' 'humbug,' 'bamboozle,' in place of ἐξαπατάω.<sup>9</sup> Compare σαπύλλω Rhinthon fr. 24 Kb. This may be the Dorian form of θηπύλλω;<sup>10</sup> if so, see Hesychius: θήπων· ἐξαπατών, κολακεύων, θαυμάζων, also θήπει· ψεύδεται, and θηπητής· ἀπατεών. Hesychius explains σαπύλλειν by means of σαίνειν.

ἡβυλλιάω Ran. 516, Pherecr. 108, 29. Like ἡβάω from ἡβη, so ἡβυλλιάω is made from an assumed form ἡβύλλιον with the same verbal ending -άω. The diminutive here is hypocoristic, and is used to arouse passion. Cf. Comic Termin. Part I, pp. 19 f.

ὀγκύλλομαι Pac. 465 is coarser than ὀγκόομαι. 'How high and mighty you are!' 'What damnable conceit!' ὀγκύλον· σιμνόν, γαῦρον, Hesych.

βδύλλω Eq. 224, Lys. 354, from βδέω. The form in -ύλλω is even more vulgar than the primitive word. Compare ἐγχεζω in Vesp. 627 for a similar usage.

βρύλλω (Eq. 1126) = ὑποπίνω, ἐκ μιμήσεως τῆς τῶν παίδων φωνῆς, Symmachus ap. schol. 'Sip,' 'tipple,' 'guzzle.' It is the childish<sup>11</sup> old Demus who uses βρύλλω here.

κοικύλλω Th. 852 and μοιμύλλω adesp. 1080, apparently reduplicated forms,<sup>12</sup> and στωμύλλω<sup>13</sup> deserve mention here because they belong almost exclusively to comedy.

\* σπερχύλλω, implied in σπερχυλλάδην adesp. 30, in place of σπέρχομαι.

<sup>7</sup>Indoger. Forsch. XXI 98.

<sup>8</sup>See the fifth ἐπίθεσις to Aristophanes' Plutus.

<sup>9</sup>'Befool'—'befuddle' is not a sufficiently accurate translation. Sharpley compares 'swill'—'swizzle.'

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Ahrens, Dial. Dor. pp. 66 f.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. vsa. 716 f., 726, 823, etc.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Leo Meyer, Griech. Etym. II 239, (445), IV 390, 444.

<sup>13</sup>Ach. 579, Eq. 1376, Nub. 1003, Pac. 995, Th. 1073, 1074, Ran. 1071, 1310, κατα- Th. 461, Ran. 1160.

## -ύττω

πλανύττω Av. 3 "a comic alteration or extension of πλανάομαι," says the scholiast. With it van Leeuwen compares verbs in -ύλλω, and it is true that some verbs in -ύττω, like those in -ύλλω, have a homely and vulgar meaning, e. g., -μύττω, βδελύττομαι, μορμολύτομαι, ἐγγλύσσω, ποιφύσσω, σκαρδαμύττω, and forms like γρύττω, ψύττω, βρύττω, χανύσσω, φρύττω, βορβορύττω, that make their appearance late. δωρύττομαι in Theocr. 7, 43 Debrunner<sup>14</sup> regards as a comic formation like πλανύττω, made perhaps in imitation of it. Most editors, however, including Ahrens, refer to Gregory of Corinth<sup>15</sup> who says that it is the Doric form of δωρέομαι.

## -άττω

λαιμάττω Eccl. 1178,<sup>16</sup> 'guzzle,' from λαιμός 'throat,' 'gullet,' may have been formed on the analogy of κανάττω,<sup>17</sup> and δρυμέττω adesp. 986 (cf. δρύπτω) may perhaps have been formed on the analogy of σπαράττω, as Debrunner suggests,<sup>18</sup> but that a comic force lies in the suffix in these words is not sufficiently clear.

## -ιάω

The denominative suffix -ιάω, though used at first without specific meaning, as the examples from Homer given by von der Pfordten, Griech. Denom. S. 16 f. show, came later to have in a large group of verbs a definite significance: it denoted sickness, usually sickness of the body, e. g., ὀφθαλμιάω 'suffer from eye-sickness,' φθισιάω 'be consumptive,' βουλιμιάω 'suffering from ravenous hunger,' ναυτιάω 'be seasick,' λιθιάω 'suffer from the stone,' λιγγιάω 'be dizzy.' Some verbs in -ιάω have the same force, e. g., ποδαγριάω 'have gout in the feet,' μελαγχολιάω 'be melancholy-mad.' With this meaning of disease the suffix became productive in the hands of the comic poets; they employed it to designate various new disorders and maladies, chiefly mental, of their own creation. Attached to some stems -ιάω carried with it the meaning 'sick for' in the

<sup>14</sup> I. F. XXI 242 f. See also van Herwerden, Lex. s. v. δωρύττεσθαι.

<sup>15</sup> Dial. Dor. § 110.

<sup>16</sup> See also Herond. 6, 97.

<sup>17</sup> Eur. Cycl. 157, Ar. Eq. 105, Eupol. 272.

<sup>18</sup> S. 225, cf. S. 220: Nun hängte sich wegen λατάσσω und πατάσσω die Bedeutung des Lärmens oder lärmenden Schlagens an -άσσω, was durch primäre Verba wie ἀράσσω, denominative wie κανάσσω, jedenfalls auch durch den Klang von -άσσω gefördert wurde.

sense of 'pining, longing, languishing for,' that is to say, it expressed a morbid desire, as in the words *μαθητιάω*, *σοφιστιάω*, *κυσιτιάω*, *μαστιγιάω*. In the course of time the quality of morbidity was lost, the desire alone remained, and thus arose the class of desiderative verbs in *-ιάω*.

Comic uses of the ending occur in the following words:

*σιβυλλιάω* Eq. 61 'I have the Sibyl-craze,' 'I have gone daft on oracles,' denotes a mental malady, and must be distinguished from *σιβυλλαίνω* 'I am inspired and prophesy like a Sibyl,' which is explained in Diod. 4, 66 fin. by the word *ἐνθουάζω*. Compare *κορυβαρτιάω* 'I am Corybant-mad,' 'I have Corybantic frenzy,' in Vesp. 8, a word that seems to be used familiarly in Plat. Crit. 54 D, Ion 533 E, 536 C, Symp. 215 E, Longin. 5, 1, Pliny 11, 54.

*λοφάω* Pac. 1211. The scholiast points out that Aristophanes here coined a verb in *-άω* that would indicate a disease, "crestache" (Rogers), "plume-onia" (Sharpley), on the analogy of *ιδερεύω* 'I have the dropsy,' *ποδαγράω* 'I have gout in the feet,' *σπληνιάω* 'I am splenetic.' The proper use of *λοφάω* in the sense of 'grow a creet,' like *κομάω* 'wear long hair,' *γενειάω* 'grow a beard,' is found in Babr. 88, 4.

*μελλονικιάω* Av. 640 'I have the Niky-dilly-dallies' (Forman), a disease marked by doubts, hesitations, and delays, cf. Thuc. 6, 25, 1.

*βεμβικιάω* Av. 1465. In place of *βεμβικίζω* Aristophanes used *ποιέω βεμβικιάω* 'give him the spinning sickness,' that is, by lashing him with a scourge as boys whip tops (*βέμβικες*), cf. Callim. Epigr. 1, 9.

*μαθητιάω* Nub. 183 'I am pining for knowledge,' 'I have an itch for information, a passion for philosophy,' is formed like *σύρητιάω* and *χεζητιάω* which seem to have been more or less common. Note the impatience of Strepsiades to satisfy his great desire.

*σοφιστιάω* Eubulid. 1 'yearn for the sophist's art,' 'long to be a sophist,' must indicate a similar craving.

*σωκρατιάω* Ar. Av. 1282 'I have the Socrates-mania.' The desire for homoeoteleuton may be partly responsible for this new formation.

*βινητιάω* Lys. 715. This word reveals the malady among the women which has caused Lysistrata so much trouble and anxiety. By reason of its vulgarity it comes as a surprise and a contrast after the lofty language of the parodies from Euripides just preceding (706-7, 713). It is found also in Plat. Com. 174, 21 (conj.) and

in adesp. 13; ὑποβιν. Menand. 462, cf. adesp. 887. σκοτοβινιάω Ach. 1221 is a comic formation made so as to correspond to σκοτοδινιάω in 1219. See a somewhat similar jingle in πίνειν and βινεῖν in Ran. 740.

Two words like βινητιάω in meaning may be appended here: γαλιάω adesp. 967 'have the cat-sickness,' comically formed from γαλή, and κυσιάω adesp. 1061 'be sick for the κυσός.'

μαστιγιᾶω Eupol. 429 'I am pining for the lash.' μαστιγιᾶν = τὸ δέισθαι μαστίγων, Pollux. Compare κουριάω Pherecr. 30, similarly explained by Pollux as equivalent to δέομαι κουρᾶς.

κλανσιᾶω Ar. Pl. 1099. κλανσιᾶ = κλανμάτων δαίται (Mein.), 'wants to weep,' 'craves a cudgeling.'

### -ίζω

The great frequency of verbs in -ίζω in comedy is a matter of common observation.<sup>19</sup> Many of them belonged to the *sermo familiaris*, others are inventions of the comic poets, who did not hesitate to transform any noun and even a prepositional phrase into a verb by means of this suffix. In these comic formations the fun lies almost entirely in the body of the word; yet since the verbal ending -ίζω is the means by which such expressions are made into verbs, it may perhaps be given credit for a small fraction of the comic effect. Hence the more conspicuous examples deserve mention here: παπίζω (from πάππας) Vesp. 609 'she papas me,' 'she calls me papa,' πατερίζω (πατήρ) Vesp. 652 'do not father me,' 'do not call me father,' βακίζω (Βάκισ) Pac. 1072 'stop your everlasting talk about Bacis,' καρδαμίζω (κάρδαμον) Th. 617 'chatter about cresses,' δημίζω (δῆμος) Vesp. 699 'to be forever talking of the people, the dear people,' ἐντριωνίζω (τρία, Τριτογενής) Eq. 1189 'to third with water,'<sup>20</sup> κατατριακοντουτίζω (τριακοντούτις) Eq. 1391 'to be-thirty-year them,' διασκανδικίζω (σκάνδιξ) Eq. 19 'do not fill me full of pot-herbs,' τρίζω (τί) Ar. fr. 871 'to be forever asking why,' ἡπαιωνίζω (ἐν παιάν or παιών) Eq. 408 'to cry ἐν παιών,' ἀμφιανακτίζω (ἀμφὶ ἀνακτα) Cratin. 67, Ar. fr. 59 'to sing ἀμφὶ ἀνακτα,' σκορακίζω (ἐς κόρακας) adesp. 1147 'to bid one go to perdition.' See also Apollonh. 4, Araros 7, Eupol. 2, Ar. Lys. 587, etc.

<sup>19</sup> Helbing, Gram. der Sept., S. 125, says that in Aristophanes and the comic fragments there are about 500 of them that are rarely met elsewhere.

<sup>20</sup> "The Threician Pallas threeified it."—Walsh.

A similar situation exists in the case of the factitive suffix -όω. With it some ridiculous words are coined for the comic effect, a small part of which may likewise be attributed to the ending, e. g., ἐγκοισυρόω (Κοισύρα) Nub. 48 'to Coesyrafy,' διαλφιστόω<sup>21</sup> (ἄλφιστον) Nub. 669 'to barley-meal,' 'to fill full of barley meal,' ἐνασπιτόω (ἀσπίς) Ach. 368 'to enshield,' δελφακόομαι (δέλφαξ) Ach. 786 'to come to pighood' (cf. ἀνδρόομαι, ἐξανδρόομαι), φιλιππιτόω<sup>22</sup> (Φιλιππίδης) conj. in Alexis 144 'you have been made into a veritable Philippides, i. e., you are as thin as Philippides.'

#### Varia

δοκῶ Hermipp. 12. Used in place of δοκῶ to ridicule the barbarian language of Hyperbolus' mother. See Hesych. s. v., Meineke Hist. Crit. Com. Graec. 94, Lobeck Proleg. 148. Compare ἀστακάζομαι adesp. 953.

ἀναχνοινθῆ Ach. 791 in place of the correct form ἀναχνοιάδδῃ<sup>23</sup> was perhaps due, as Starkie suggests, to assimilation to the preceding παχυνθῆ. This verb ἀναχνοαίνομαι is a ἀπαξ εἰρημένον. In a somewhat similar way, for the sake of the assonance and with comic intent, Aristophanes used the middle voice of βέγκω Eq. 115, χαίρω Pac. 291, and χέζω Eq. 1057,<sup>24</sup> instead of the active, and in Eq. 456 contrary to the common practice<sup>25</sup> he contracted κολάσαι, the future middle of κολάζω, into κολᾶ in order to make a pun with κῶλοις. So also Cicero with comic intent made the hybrid word *facteon* in Att. I, 16, 13 after the fashion of the Greek verbal φιλοσοφητέον just preceding it, in place of the Latin gerundive form.

#### ADVERBS

Ἀττικηρῶς Alexis 213 is comic for Ἀττικῶς, the ending -ηρῶς being borrowed from μοχθηρῶς, λυπηρῶς, or some such word with this ending that fits in the context and gives the poet's meaning.<sup>26</sup>

δωροδοκιστί Eq. 996. The adverbial ending -ιστί is borrowed

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *dapino* (*daps*) Plaut. Capt. 897, "I'll dinner you till doomsday, if it's true."—Lindsay.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *charmido* (*Charmides*) and *decharmido*, Plaut. Trin. 977.

<sup>23</sup> The Attic equivalent is ἀναχνοιάζῃ.

<sup>24</sup> These passages were discussed in Comic Terminations, Part I, p. 16.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. κολάσομαι Theopomp. Com. 27, κολάσεται Plat. Rep. 575 D, Luc. Jup. Conf. 18 fin., κολάσασθε Xen. Hell. 1, 7, 19, over against κολωμένους Ar. Vesp. 244, the only other instance of the contraction of this form.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Schweighäuser on Ath. 4, 137 d.

from the familiar designations of the different modes in music, e. g., Δωριστί, Λυδιστί, Φρυγιστί, 'λαστί, in order to make the newly invented mode δωροδοκιστί (from δωροδοκέω 'take bribes'), the only key to which Cleon would tune his lyre. For this coinage the poet prepares us by his previous use of Δωριστί (from δῶρα 'bribes') in vs. 989.

μήχι Eubul. 23 is formed from μή on the analogy of ναίχι from ναί and of οὐγί from οὐ.<sup>27</sup> Kock thinks that Eubulus coined it in sport. Similarly ναυδαμῶς adesp. 1086, after the fashion of οὐδαμῶς and μηδαμῶς.

#### INTERJECTIONS

The termination -αῖ was coarse and vulgar in interjections as well as in nicknames.<sup>28</sup> This was due in part to the feeling in antiquity that ξ was a harsh and ugly sound.<sup>29</sup> In comedy -αῖ was used both as a comic extension of interjections already in existence and as a formative suffix for the creation of new interjections. The tragic exclamation of pain or surprise παῖαί which is found in nearly a score of passages in tragedy was lengthened to παῖαῖξ in Lys. 924, Vesp. 235, and in Euripides' satyr-drama Cyclops 153. With παῖαῖξ Cinesias and old Silenus, both ridiculous figures, give expression to their delight upon the (partial) satisfaction of their desires. This adaptation of a tragic<sup>30</sup> word to comic uses by the addition of the vulgar ending -αῖ is worthy of notice. So also βαβαί<sup>31</sup> is lengthened to βαβαῖαῖξ in Ach. 64, 1142, Pac. 248, Lys. 312, Ran. 63, and Plat. Com. 46, and λαρραῖ<sup>32</sup> is extended to λαρραῖαῖξ in Eq. 1, Th. 945.<sup>33</sup>

Other interjections in -αῖ are:

βομβάξ Th. 45, coined in imitation of the sound of the servant's solemn and pretentious utterance, for the purpose of ridiculing it. It is with the even more derisive ejaculation βομβαλοβομβάξ, a kind of reduplication of the mock-majestic βομβάξ, that Mnesilochus in-

<sup>27</sup> Bekker Anecd. 108, 14.

<sup>28</sup> See Comic Terminations, Part I, pp. 42 f.

<sup>29</sup> See Philodemus *περὶ ποιημάτων* in Fleck. Jahrb. Suppl. 17, 239, Cicero Orator 153, Varro fr. 113, St. Augustine Principia Dialecticæ 6 f.

<sup>30</sup> Where παῖαί occurs in comedy, viz., Ach. 1214, Lys. 215, Pl. 220, parody lies near at hand.

<sup>31</sup> Achæus fr. 28 and often in Plato.

<sup>32</sup> Eq. 1, Ran. 649, cf. Th. 223.

<sup>33</sup> Most editors retain the MS reading λαρραῖαῖξ in Th. 945.



interrupts the recitation of Agathon's servant again in vs. 48. *Bombax* is found in Plautus in Pseud. 365.

*εὐράξ πατάξ* Av. 1258, an exclamation used by Peithetaerus in driving Iris away, perhaps like "shoo! shoo!" It is no doubt an onomatopoetic invention. *ἐπιφθεγμα τάχους* is the comment of the scholiast.

*πάξ* Diph. 96, Menand. *Ἐπιτρ.* 517 (Koerte), Herondas 7, 114, Plaut. M. G. 808, Stich. 772, Ter. Haut. 291, 717, = *τέλος ἔχα* (Hesych.), "enough!"

*πυππάξ* adesp. 1130, "bravo!" See Plato Euthyd. 303 A.

*Ευαα* Plaut. Bacch. 247, 724, Curc. 97, Cas. 835, Men. 127, "hurrah!", a cry of exultation. Found in Plautus only, but derived no doubt from his Greek sources.

*ἱππαπαῖ* Eq. 602. *τὸ δὲ ἱππαπαῖ ἔπαιξε παρὰ τὸ ῥυππαπαῖ* [Ran. 1073] *αἰρηκῶς ὡς ἐπὶ ἱππων. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ῥυππαπαῖ ἐπιφώνημα ναυτικόν* (scholiast).

The following imitative expressions may be added here:

*κοάξ* Ran. 209 f., together with *βρεκεκεκέξ*, is an imitation of the croaking of frogs.

*παππάξ, παπαπαππάξ*, Nub. 390, 391. *ὀνοματοποιήγεται δὲ ἡ λέξις κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ τῶν πορδῶν ἤχου.*

#### ADDENDA

*παιδισκάριον* adesp. 25 (Demianczuk). For this multiplication of diminutive suffixes see Comic Termin. Part I, pp. 11 f.

*Ἀφροδιταρίδιον* Plat. Com. 3 (Dem.), a double diminutive of endearment,<sup>24</sup> the endearment being further emphasized by *γλυκύτατον*, 'my dearest little Aphrodittikins, my sweetie.'

*ἀνθρωπάριον* Eupol. 26 (Dem.), a dim. of contempt.<sup>25</sup> Cf. *γυναικάριον* Diocl. 11 K.

*πυγίδιον* Ach. 638. For 'tiptoe' is substituted 'tiptail,' and that too in the diminutive form. A dim. of mild contempt, used in a sportive mood.

*μειρακύλλιον* Menand. Fab. Incert. II, 33 (Koerte), in ridicule and contempt.

*πρίων* Ach. 36 'Mr. Buyer,' a character name made from the imperative *πρίω*. *τοῦτο παιδιὰ καλεῖται*, says the scholiast, *ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ πρίω βήματος ὄνομα τὸ πρίων*, and Hesychius explains *πρίων* as equivalent to *ἀγοράζων*.

<sup>24</sup> See Com. Term. I, 19 f.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 26 f.

πίων (from πείος) implied in Πειονίδης,<sup>28</sup> Lys. 852, the patronymic being formed to resemble the deme-name Παιονίδα. παίζει πρὸς τὸ πείος, ὡς ἀπὸ δήμου τινός (scholiast).

Καρδοπίων Vesp. 1178, from κάρδοπος.

Καμπυλίων (from καμπύλος), the title of comedies of Eubulus and Araros; cf. Ἀγκυλίων (from ἀγκύλος), the name of plays of Eubulus and Alexis.

Μαρψίας Ach. 702, from the stem of the epic and poetic μάρπτω and the nickname-forming suffix -ίας, has the meaning of μάρπτις 'plunderer,' 'robber,' but the appearance of a proper name. It is therefore a coined character name with its etymological signification emphasized, 'Mr. Graball.' It is the name of a parasite in Eupol. 166 and the name of a dog in CIG. 4, 8185 a. It is not found elsewhere. In a similar way Aristophanes plays upon the meaning of the familiar name Κτησίας in Ach. 839.

Σταμνίας Ran. 22, 'Old Beerbarrel,' a character name from στάμνος. See Class. Phil. II, 462. Compare κοτύλων (from κοτύλη 'cup') Plut. Anton. ch. 18 fin., nickname of the toper Varius.

Σατυρίας (from Σάτυρος) the title of a comedy of Anaxandrides. μαστιγίας Eq. 1228, Ran. 501, Lys. 1240, Philem. 145, Diph. 97, Menand. Ἐπιτρ. 573, Σαμ. 109, Περικειρ. 134, Κολ. 83 (Koerte), Hipparch. 1, Philippid. 9, adesp. 487 (Ko.), adesp. 15 (Dem.), monost. 365 (Mein.), = δοῦλος ὁ δὲ ἁμάρτημα μαστιζόμενος (Suidas). Found also in Soph. fr. 306, Plat. Gorg. 524 C, Dem. 20, 131, Theophr. Char. 28.

στιγματίας Lys. 331, Cratin. 333, Hermipp. 63, Eupol. 159, 276.<sup>29</sup> οἱ δὲ στιζόμενοι στιγματαῖαι καὶ στίγυνες, ὥσπερ οἱ μαστιγούμενοι μαστιγίαί, Poll. 3, 79, cf. Eust. 1542, 48. Ψευδοστιγματίας is the name of a play of Nicostratus. Naevius has a comedy called *Stigmatias*.

ληματίας<sup>30</sup> Ran. 494 is explained by Suidas with the words φρονηματίας, μεγαλόφρων, γεννάδας.

Γόργασος Ach. 1131, formed from γοργός, which underlies Γοργώ, in order to refer to the image of the Gorgon on Lamachus' shield. It is made with the name-forming suffix<sup>31</sup> seen in Ἰππασος, Δάμασος,

<sup>28</sup> This reading is derived from the scholium.

<sup>29</sup> It occurs also in Asius 1, Xen. Hell. 5, 3, 24.

<sup>30</sup> The reading found in a scholium and in Suidas (cf. also Hesych. and Phot.) in preference to the verb-form ληματιῖς in the MSS.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Fick u. Bechtel, Griech. Personennamen, S. 23. Γόργασος occurs in Paus. 4, 3, 10; 4, 30, 3, used seriously as a proper name.

Πήγασος, Ἑλάσος, Ἑρασος, Νίκασος. For Aristophanes' fondness for this form of expression *Λάμαχον τὸν Γοργάσων*, compare *Διώνυσος υἱὸς Σταμνίου* Ran. 22, *Ἀντίμαχον τὸν Ψακάδος* Ach. 1150, *πατὴρὸς Κασπίνου* Vesp. 151, *τὸν Σέλλου* 325, cf. 1267, and see Hermipp. 42, Phryn. Com. 53.

Κύβδασος Plat. Com. 174 is formed like *Γόργασος*. *Κύβδασος* from *κύβδα* (κύπτω) and *Λόρδων*<sup>40</sup> from *λορδός* are obscene names of opposite meaning, coined by Plato.

*Ἀνθράκυλλος* conj. Ach. 612, a character name made up of *ἄνθραξ* 'charcoal' and the ending -υλλος used as a name-forming suffix.<sup>41</sup> It is very appropriate to the context. *Anthrax* is a cook in Plautus' *Aulularia*.

*εἰδομαλίδης* Alcae. Com. 37, Alcae. Lyr. 150 Bergk (*εἶδος, μῆλον*) 'son of a rouge pot,' *ἑρευθόμενος δηλαδὴ κορικώτερον*. See Bergk on Alcae. Lyr. fr. 150, who compares *βεθομαλίδης* and *ἰδομαλίδης*. The word was probably employed by the lyric poet Alcaeus rather than by the comic poet of the same name.

*σατύρα* adesp. 1374, used of a courtesan, is the feminine of *σάτυρος* in the sense of a lewd and lustful fellow, hence a 'she-satyr,' 'satyress.' Cf. *Silena ac satyra* in Lucret. 4, 1169.

*ἀνδρικός* Anaxandrid. 1 (Dem.). See A. J. P. XXXI, 436-41, especially 440.

*ἀριστηγικός* conj. Eupol. 7. (Dem.). See A. J. P. XXXI, 441.

*λογιστικός* Menand. *Ἐπιτρ.* 541 (Koerte). An adjective ending in -ικός is fitting in the mouth of this slave (Onesimus) turned philosopher. Note his Epicurean philosophy and other moralizing, pretentiously set forth immediately afterwards (vss. 544 f.). It is Onesimus too who uses *δοτικός* (or *τοπαστικός*) 340, *προνοητικός* 344, and *ταρα[κτι]κῶς* 361. With one exception, *τραγικός* 585, he employs all the forms in -ικός that are found in this play.

*προδοσιώτερος* adesp. 1124 K. See A. J. P. XXXIX, 183.

CHARLES W. PEPPLER.

TRINITY COLLEGE, N. C.

<sup>40</sup> Casaubon's correction for *Δόρδων*.

<sup>41</sup> Fick u. Bechtel, Gr. Pers. 8. 27.

#### IV.—ABRAHAM'S BOSOM.

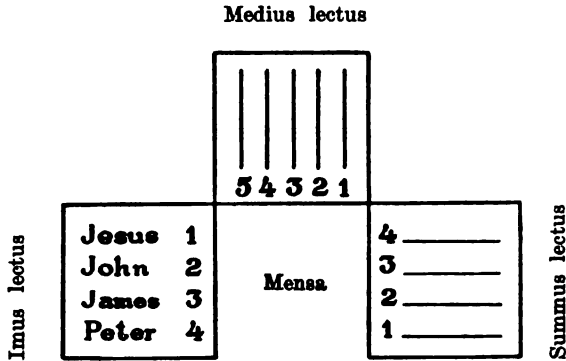
We read in the parable of Lazarus and Dives that when the beggar died, he was carried by the angels *into Abraham's bosom*. The rich man in Hades saw Abraham afar off, and Lazarus *in his bosom* (Luke 16, 22. 23). This figure is supposed to express the ideas of nearest fellowship and highest honor; it is said to be taken from the practice of reclining at table, so that the head of the guest leaned back upon the bosom of his neighbor, the place of distinction belonging to him who was seated in this way next to the host (DB 1, 18').<sup>1</sup> But at ancient dinners the guests were not packed like sardines (cf. CD 40<sup>c</sup>; RB 956; CBL<sup>3</sup> 456). Nor can we suppose that when Lazarus died, Abraham was dining in a recumbent posture, and that the angels placed Lazarus before Abraham on the dining-couch, so close that Lazarus' head was on Abraham's bosom, although we read in Matt. 8, 11 (cf. Luke 13, 29) that *many will come from the east and the west, and recline at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven* (cf. the feasts of the heroes in Valhalla with Odin as host and the Valkyrs bearing about the mead-horns). The Greek text has ἀνακλιθήσονται, they will eat a meal in a recumbent posture. In Luke 16, 22 we have εἰς τὸν κόλπον Ἀβρααμ, which the Vulgate renders: *in sinum Abrahæ*, the Peshita: *lê-'ubbêh dê-'Ahrâhâm*. J. D. Michaelis' translation (1790) *to Abraham's table* is unwarranted. Syr. 'úbbâ means *bosom*, lap, womb, hollow, cavity, recess, inner part, also *gulf*, bay, like Lat. *sinus* and Gr. *κόλπος*. Aram. 'úbbâ is identical with Heb. *hoh*, which we find in Job 31, 33. For Heb. *lîtmôn-lê-hubbî 'âmônî*, to hide my guilt in my bosom (cf. ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἔχων) the Peshita has *fîmrêl bê-šûšîd haubâi*, I hid secretly my trespasses (cf. Matt. 6, 13). In Syriac, *hâubâ* (— Heb. *hoh*) means *debt*, and *húbbâ*: *love*. The original meaning of *habab*, to love, may be to *fondle in the lap*.

The Hebrew equivalent of *Abraham's bosom* is *hâq Ahrâhâm*. I showed more than ten years ago (*Mic.* 90) that Heb. *bê-hâq*

<sup>1</sup> For the abbreviations see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 38, p. 142.

corresponded to the Assyr. *ina sūni*. It does not mean *in the bosom*, but *in the lap*. The line in the last triplet of Ps. 79, *Bender unto our neighbors sevenfold into their bosom their reproach wherewith they reproached Thee, O Lord*, means *Give them lapfuls, filled sevenfold, for the insults wherewith they insulted Thee*. In the same way we must interpret Luke 6, 38: *Good measure, pressed down and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom*. In Is. 65, 7 JHVH says, *I will requite their iniquities, I will measure out their recompense, and will requite it into their bosom* (cf. Jer. 32, 18; Ruth 3, 15). In 2 K 4, 39 we read that one of the young prophets at Gilgal (i. e. the sacred cromlech N of Beth-el, JBL 36, 95) gathered his lap full of colocynths. AV has *his lap full* for Heb. *mēlô bigdô*, lit. *the fulness of his (upper) garment* (Vulgate, *implevit pallium suum*). Lat. *gremium* does not mean an *armful* (ἀγκάλῃς, ὠλένῃ) but a *lapful*. The lap is that part of the clothing that lies loosely on the thighs and knees when a person sits down, and this may be used like an apron to hold or contain something. In certain parts of Germany (*Schwalm*; cf. MK<sup>6</sup> 20, 242, pl. i, Nos. 20.16) where the women used to wear half a dozen underskirts, the overskirt occasionally served for this purpose; they also used it as a hood or cape, if there was an unexpected downpour. We call the leather covering for the protection of the lower part of a person while riding in an open carriage an *apron*, and a fur robe, or a blanket, for the protection of the feet and legs when riding in a carriage or sleigh is known in this country as a *lap-robe*.

In John 13, 25 ἦν ἀνακείμενος εἰς ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ κόλπῃ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς does not mean *There was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of His disciples, whom Jesus loved*; ἀνακείμενος ἐν τῇ κόλπῃ αὐτοῦ means simply παρακατακείμενος αὐτῷ. The unnamed disciple reclined on the same dining-couch before Him, and when he wanted to ask the Master a question, he leaned back toward the breast of Jesus behind him. Both rested on the couch in a semi-sitting position, supported on the left elbow. Ἀναπεσὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ does not mean *lying on Jesus' breast* (contrast Wellhausen, *Ev. Luc.* 91). If the Last Supper was arranged according to the Roman fashion, there would have been three couches on three sides of a square table. Jesus would have occupied the couch on the left side,



and the place of honor would have been, not the place before the place of the host at the rear end of the left couch, but the place (*ἱπιατικός*, *locus consularis*) at the left end of the couch behind the table (cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2, 8, 20-23). *Ἀνάγαιον μέγα εἰσπρωμένον ἑτοιμον* (Mark 14, 15) means *a large dining-room bedded, ready*, i. e. provided with dining-couches (*lecti strati*, *triclinia strata*) and the table set. In the *Odyssey* we often find *δρεῖlara ἑτοῖμα*; Theocritus (13, 63) says *ἑτοιμοτάτη δαίς* (cf. also Matt. 22, 4, 8; Luke 14, 17). *Σπρωγνή* denotes a couch (e. g. Plato, *Prot.* 12, A). *Ἐσπρωμένον* in this connection does not mean *paved*, or *carpeted*, or *furnished*, or *provided with cushions*. Nor does *ʾillā mēšayyēšā u-mēšayyēhā* in the Peshita signify *an upper room laid and set in order*; Syr. *tšūt(i) šayyē*, lit. *I spread my spread*, means *I made my bed*, and *iššayyē* denotes *to lie down at the table*. I have subsequently noticed that J. D. Michaelis (1790) translated: *er würde ihnen einen grossen Saal zeigen, auf dem ein Tisch mit herumgelegten Polstern in Bereitschaft stände*; but no modern commentator seems to have paid any attention to it; Wellhausen (*Ev. Marc.*) rendered: *Und er wird euch ein grosses Oberzimmer weisen, mit Decken überspreitet, das bereit steht*.

Each couch was usually occupied by three persons, but to accommodate Jesus and His twelve disciples, two of the three couches must have been occupied by four (cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1, 4, 86) and one, by five. The three disciples on Jesus' couch were no doubt Peter, James, and John (cf. Mark 5, 37; 9, 2; 14, 33):

Peter in front, then James, then his brother John, and finally Jesus (contrast DB 2, 681\*). The left couch was generally reserved for the host and his family.

We must not be misled by Leonardo da Vinci's famous picture of the Last Supper, at Milan, which has become for all Christendom the typical representation of this scene (EB<sup>11</sup> 16, 447<sup>b</sup>). The Master and His disciples were not seated along the far side and the two ends of a long narrow table, with the disciples ranged in equal number on His right and left. In Leonardo's picture Jesus sits in the center, and John and Peter next to Him on the right hand side of the Lord, while John's brother James has the first seat on the left side of Jesus. In Mark 10, 37 James and John ask Jesus, Grant unto us that we may sit, one on Thy right hand, and the other on Thy left hand, in Thy glory. Here *καθῆσθαι* is used, not *κατακείσθαι* or *κατακλιθῆναι* which we find in the Greek original wherever the English Bible has *to sit at meat*, although the Vulgate has *accumbere*, *recumbere*, or *discumbere*. Accubation, which was derived from the East, was introduced in Rome after the first Punic War (264-240). Nor did it prevail in the Homeric times of Greece (BL 68). For *the chief places* (AV, uppermost rooms) *at feasts* the Greek text has *πρωτοκλισίαι* (Vulgate *primi accubitus* or *recubitus*, or *discubitus*). For *sat at meat* (Matt. 9, 10) RV gives in the margin: Gr. *reclined*, and so always (cf. Mark 14, 18; Luke 9, 14).

The Hebrew name for *dining-couch* is *mesāh* which we find in Cant. 1, 12. The bride says there, *As long as the King is feasting, his spikenard its scent is emitting*. The King is the bridegroom, and *bi-mēsibbô*, in his accubation, on his dining-couch, means *in his bridal bed* (cf. Lat. *accumbere* and *accubare*, also *accubitus*). We must read *nirdô nôtên rêhô*. The *spikenard* is the *membrum virile*, and *scent* refers to the peculiar odor of the seminal fluid (cf. BL 37, n. 23; contrast BL 67, n. 12). The *smegma praeputii* is impregnated with the odoriferous secretion of the *glandulae Tysonianae*; musk, civet (cf. BL 23, n. 5; 69, n. 13; 91, n. 40) and castoreum belong to the same category. The following line *My satchet of myrrh was my dearest, scenting my breasts with its perfume* means, He kissed my bosom (cf. BL 126, ad 73; 87, n. 24) and his kisses were so

sweet and fragrant that they scented my bosom like a sachet of myrrh (cf. BL 59, n. 33; 75, n. 30; 91, nn. 37. 40; 99, n. 18; also 125, *ad* 70).

In JBL 21, 54 (cf. BL 68) I explained the Talmudic passage *Shabb.* 63\* (BT 1, 454, l. 5) where we read: Rabbi Jehudah said, The men of Jerusalem were very frivolous. A man would say to his friend, What did you have for supper last night? Well-worked bread or unworked bread? Had you Gordelian wine, or Khardelian wine? Was your couch spacious or short? Had you good or bad company? Rabbi Khisda said, All this refers to illicit intercourse.—Unworked bread, or bread that has not been kneaded, refers to a virgin, while the question, Had you (white) Gordelian wine or (red) Khardelian wine? means, Was she a blonde or a brunette?

Heb. *ḥêq*, lap, is used also for the hypogastric region. Aram. *ḥêqâ* is a synonym of *ḥānnâ*, and Syr. *ḥānnâ* means also *privy parts*. It denotes also the *hollow* of a chariot, like Heb. *ḥêq* in 1 K 22, 35 (JBL 36, 256 n. 1). It is not the etymological equivalent of Heb. *ḥoçn*, but must be connected with the stem of *ḥanan*, to have mercy, just as the plural of Heb. *rāḥm*, womb, *raḥmîm* means *mercy* (ZA 31, 241). In Arabic, *xâq* means *vulva*, and the verb *xâqa*, *ḫaxâqu*, is used of sexual intercourse. Also *margêlôt* in Ruth 3, 4. 7. 8. 14 does not denote *the place at the feet*, but the hypogastrium of Boaz. *Feet* is a euphemism for *genitals*; urine is called in Hebrew *water of the feet* (Assyr. *mê purêdi*) and the Hebrew term for *hair of the pudenda* is *hair of the feet* (Is. 7, 20). In Exod. 4, 25, where we read that Zipporah cut off the foreskin of her son and touched therewith her husband's feet, so that Moses resembled a bloody bridegroom, *feet* must be interpreted in the same way. The primary connotation of Heb. *ḥatân*, bridegroom, and *ḥôṭên*, father-in-law, is *circumcised* and *circumciser*, respectively (AJSL 22, 252, n. 9).

Ruth 3, 8 does not mean, *And it came to pass at midnight that the man was afraid and turned himself; and behold, a woman lay at his feet*, but: *at midnight the man was startled, suddenly roused from sleep, and he groped, and there was a woman at his side* (lit. *his hypogastrium*). In Jud. 16, 29 the verb *lapat*, which corresponds to the Assyr. *lapâtu*, to touch, has the same meaning; we must not translate, *Samson took hold of the two*



middle pillars upon which the house stood, but Samson groped for the two pillars. When Nathan says to David (2 S 12, 8): *Thus says Jhvh, I gave thee thy master's wives into thy bosom*, we may keep this rendering as a euphemism, just as we say to *take to one's bosom* for *to marry*, but we must bear in mind that the real meaning of the Hebrew word is not *bosom*, but the lower abdominal region.

Luther rendered εἰς τὸν κόλπον Ἀβρααμ correctly in *Abrahams Schoss*. Ger. *Schoss* means not only *lap*, but also *womb*. For in the *womb of the earth* or in the *womb of time* you say in German: *im Schoss der Erde, im Schoss der Zeit* (JBL 38, 154). In the allegorical fourteenth century poem *Piers the Plowman* we find the phrase in *Abraham's lap*. We can say also in the *lap of Providence* or in the *lap of the future*. At the end of the second scene of the last act of Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing* Benedick says to Beatrice: *I will live in thy heart, die in thy lap, and be buried in thy eyes*. Dives did not see Lazarus in (or at) Abraham's bosom, but in Abraham's lap. Ἐν τοῖς κόλποις αὐτοῦ is synonymous with ἐν (or ἐπὶ) τοῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ, *sur les genoux*. If κόλπος is etymologically identical with our *half*, the original meaning must have been *cleft* which Chaucer uses in the sense of *crotch*, *fork*, the bifurcated part of the human frame, the point where the legs are joined to the body (JBL 35, 158). The corresponding Ger. *Kluft* means *gap*, *gulf*, *chasm* (cf. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 93) and we use *gulf* for *bay*, just as κόλπος has this meaning. Ger. *Schoss* is identical with our *sheet*, while our *lap* corresponds to Ger. *Lappen*, rag. AS *sæc sceát* denotes a *gulf* or *bay*. For ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ in the sense of *at his side*, we must remember that *half* was formerly used for *side*, *part*. In the Wyclifite Version we find in Matt. 20, 21 *at Thy right half* and *at Thy left half* — ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐναντιότητος. Also Goth. and OHG *halba*, MHG *halbe*, ON *halfa* signify *side*. Our *on behalf* means originally *on the side*, or *part*, of.

For Lazarus in Abraham's bosom or, rather, in Abraham's lap, we must not think of Mme. Vigée-Lebrun's famous painting of herself and her daughter, in the Louvre, but of Michelangelo's marble group *Pietà* at St. Peter's in Rome (pl. ix, No. 13, at the end of MK<sup>2</sup>) representing the Virgin with the body of the dead Christ on her lap.

PAUL HAUPT.

## V.—HORACE AND PHILODEMUS.

Professor Hendrickson in his most interesting paper on Philodemus (A. J. P. XXXIX 31) quotes Horace, Serm. I 2, 120:

illam 'post paulo' 'sed pluris' 'si exierit vir'  
Gallis, hanc Philodemus ait sibi, quæ neque magno  
stet pretio

and rightly points out that Horace is quoting and summarizing an epigram by Philodemus. The warning is by no means superfluous, for in what is still the best English edition of the Satires Palmer, incredible though it may seem, actually reproaches Orelli with believing in Philodemus as a real person and insists that the name merely describes the character, 'a man of low tastes'. Philodemus certainly thought that his name was appropriate to his vagrant amours (A. P. V 115), but he probably never imagined that it would be made a reason for denying his existence. But when Professor Hendrickson says that the particular epigram to which Horace is referring has not been preserved, it is possible that he is mistaken. Is it not more probable that Horace after quoting 'o crus o bracchia' from Philodemus' description of Flora (A. P. V 132) proceeds to develop the rest of the satire from the six-line epigram A. P. V 126?

πέντε δίδωσιν ἐπὶ τῇ δαίνα ὁ δαίνα τάλαστα,  
καὶ βινεῖ φρίσσων, καὶ μὰ τὸν οὐδὲ καλὴν·  
πέντε δ' ἐγὼ δραχμαὶ τῶν δώδεκα Λυσισάνασσῃ,  
καὶ βινῶ πρὸς τῷ κρείσσονα καὶ φανερώς.  
πάντως ἤτοι ἐγὼ φρένας οὐκ ἔχω, ἢ τό γε λοιπὸν  
τοῦς κείνου πελέκει δεῖ διδόμεους ἀφελεῖν.

'A thousand down,' she cries, the ugly jade.  
He pays the money and is still afraid.  
My Lysianassa charges me a crown  
And lets me kiss her before all the town.  
Either I'm wrong, or else he should be sent  
Straight to the gelder for his punishment.

The word 'Galli'—which with this meaning should perhaps be written without the capital—gives the direct reference. Though Philodemus visited Gaul in his patron's train, the

word here signifies not a native of that country but a person who has undergone the operation hinted at in the sixth line of the Greek.

The habit which the Roman poets have of working up a long passage from a few lines in some Greek original by the addition of a mass of realistic details deserves more study than it has yet received. Ovid, who, in the period of the *Amores* and the *Ars Amatoria*, was even more influenced by Philodemus than is Horace, would supply several examples. The fifth poem in the first book of the *Amores* may record an actual experience, but in its literary form it is modeled on the epigram of Philodemus A. P. V 132; and the seventh piece in the third book is merely a long expansion of A. P. XI 30.

A champion once within the lists of love,  
Twice seven times my prowess I would prove.  
But now, e'en though I strive the whole night through,  
Scarce one sure sign of vigour can I show.  
Too oft the pitcher to the well has gone;  
'Twas spent before, and now 'tis wholly done.  
Languid I lie, a piece of twice-chewed string;  
O age, can you more cruel torture bring!

One more example in a different and more pleasing style. The episode of the old pirate turned gardener in the fourth *Georgic* is justly held to be one of Virgil's most exquisite pictures. It is beautiful, but its beauty is a beauty of detail and language. The 'idée mère' is to be found in an epigram of Leonidas (A. P. VI 226):

τοῦτ' ὀλίγον Κλείτωνος ἐπαύλιον, ἢ τ' ὀλιγάλαξ  
σπείρεσθαι, λιτός θ' ὁ σχεδὸν ἀμπελειών,  
τοῦτό τε ῥωπείων ὀλιγόφυλον· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τούτοις  
Κλείτων ὀγδῶκοντ' ἐξεπέρησ' ἔτηα.

'Behold poor Clito's humble cot,  
His vineyard small, his garden plot,  
The wood from whence he faggots bears.  
Yet thus he lived for eighty years.'

F. A. WRIGHT.

BIRKBECK COLLEGE,  
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

## VI.—HORACE, CARM. III, 4: DESCENDE CAELO.

Horace's "Descende caelo" is by no means a favorite ode. Its apparent lack of unity, its dispersion of interest and its obtrusion of themes that seem farfetched, have left most readers puzzled. When Mommsen<sup>1</sup> on the occasion of an emperor's birthday undertook to interpret the cycle of six poems in which it stands as an effort to promote Augustus' legislative program he won a half-hearted interest for it. But however well his hypothesis seemed to explain the latter half of the poem, the reader still failed to see any *raison d'être* for the first thirty-six lines. And Mommsen's general interpretation has not quite stood the test of criticism. He read too much imperialism into these odes. There was apparently something in the political atmosphere of such "Festreden" which betrayed the sanest of scholars into high-sounding phraseology. Domaszewski<sup>2</sup> gave a slightly different turn to Mommsen's hypothesis by quoting the inscription<sup>3</sup> of the golden shield which was presented to Augustus in the year 27; but after weighing his testimony with care few readers of Horace have found it possible to accept the suggestion that these six odes merely sing the praises of an emperor's virtues. Criticism<sup>4</sup> has now come to recognize with Heinze that though the six odes were finally grouped together by the poet as related in thought or manner, they were written at intervals, and originally (some of them at least) without reference to each other. That leaves the fourth as a problem still unsolved.

The fourth ode was probably the first of the group to be composed, as has been inferred from the allusion in line 38 to the settling of soldiers after Actium. If we read it without reference

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *Festrede, Reden und Aufsätze*, pp. 168 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Domaszewski, *Rhein. Mus.*, 59, pp. 302 ff. For other discussions see Wagenvoort, *De Horatii quae dicuntur Odis Romanis*, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Ancy.* 34: "virtutis, clementiae, justitiae, pietatis causa."

<sup>4</sup> Eduard Meyer's interpretation of III. 3 (*Kleine Schr.* p. 472), convincing to those who know Roman history, is of course fatal to Domaszewski's idea. It was a mistake for Meyer to apply his hypothesis to the fifth where it does not belong.

to the rest of the "cycle," if we divest ourselves of the idea that it must perforce represent the idea of "clementia" we may summarize it as follows:

ll. 1-36, Hear me, O Muses, for I am your devotee. You guarded me when a lost babe in the woods, you have been my patrons throughout life, you have saved me in times of great peril: I will trust myself to your care wherever I go.

ll. 37-41, (transition) Caesar also, now that his great struggle is over, finds solace in you and your wise counsels.

ll. 42-80, Jupiter, in a greater struggle, also overcame his enemies, opposing their blind rage with reason and well directed force. With him stood Minerva and the Gods of Olympus. Thus has senseless violence ever yielded before power directed by intelligence.

Now it is very difficult to find unity here. What have Horace's youthful ramblings to do with Augustus' victory over Antony—which is tacitly compared with the Gigantomachy? Or what have the muses, the patrons of Horace, to do with battles? Any hypothesis which demands unity of thought in the poem at once convicts Horace of forgetting the simplest rules of his art. And that is the last thing he was likely to do.

To me at least "*Descende caelo*" has the appearance of a dedicatory poem—a dedicatory poem that for some reason is out of the position for which it was originally intended. Such a poem normally does two things. It attempts to justify the book which it prefaces, and it commends the recipient of the book. And that is precisely what this ode does. In the first half, Horace, apparently fearsome of his bold venture, seeks to prove his right to sing by showing that from very childhood he has been a favorite of the muses. In the second part, written shortly after Augustus' return from the East, he commends Augustus—presumably the recipient of the dedication—by implying that his recent victory was a victory of intelligence over mere violence as in the case of the Gigantomachy. If we assume the premises, nothing could be more fitting.

The awkwardness of the transition from *me* to *thee* is then explained. The scene-shifting fairly creaks in the lines (37-40):

Vos Caesarem altum, militia simul  
Fessas cohortes addidit oppidis,  
Finire quaerentem labores  
Pierio recreatis antro.

But what was to be done? A dedication necessarily has two themes, and when they are as far apart as Horace and Augustus, a violent transition is to be expected.

It is futile to attempt any explanation of why the poem was not used for its original purpose. One can imagine that when the moment came, Horace, through modesty, or lack of encouragement, or sense of pride, decided not to dedicate his book to Augustus. We happen to know from Suetonius that Horace was drawn into addressing Augustus in a confident tone only at the written request of the Emperor. It may also be—as has frequently been assumed—that Horace had originally intended to issue the odes serially in single books and that when he changed his mind he withdrew this preface—meant for the first or second or third book—and shifted it to its present position. This is of course mere conjecture. At any rate since it is a long Alcaic song containing something of political significance, it seems not wholly out of place in the “cycle.” A part of it at least corresponds somewhat to the others in that it directs attention to “vis temperata” as others of the “cycle” do to “virtus,” “fides,” and “pietas.”

This hypothesis may also explain the first strange stanza:

Descende caelo et dic age tibia  
Regina longum Calliope melos,  
Seu voce nunc mavis acuta,  
Seu fidibus citharaque Phoebi.

This stanza is awkwardly padded, and the commentators have not yet decided what kind of a performance Calliope is invited to give (see Professor Shorey's note). If the poem was originally written as a dedication to Augustus, the first stanza probably contained his name, and had, therefore, to be rewritten, when the “longum melos” was placed in its present position. In such circumstances we can hardly wonder if “the expression is confused.” And if the opening stanza was rewritten to fit the poem for its new position, the first words may after all—as Porphyrio supposed—refer to the celestial council of the preceding poem.

Of course this explanation does not increase the aesthetic value of “Descende caelo” except in so far as it removes an obstacle which has hindered access to its meaning. But we are

interested in Horace's conception of his art, and it is something to find that though he rambled, he did so not from lack of power to be direct. Here at least he purposely dispersed the attention, and a dedicatory poem is one of the few types of poems that may legitimately say two things. I am convinced also that in other poems that have seemed to some critics not to conform to the rules of good art, e. g. I, 3; 7 and 28, we should find if we knew all the facts either a reasonable explanation<sup>5</sup> or the binding thread. Horace deserves of the reader the exercise of some imagination. Time and the sloth of the dark ages have destroyed so much of the simple everyday knowledge which Horace could reasonably assume in his readers that we have no right to attribute to the poet's incapacity the obscurities which we sometimes fail to penetrate. We might consider for a moment what a Roman reader would have made of "The Lady of Shalott" or "La Belle Dame sans Merci" with only such help as a Porphyrio provides.<sup>6</sup>

TENNEY FRANK.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Hendrickson (Class. Jour. III. 100) has now removed the difficulties in I, 3. Kiessling-Heinze's notes on I, 7 seem to me satisfactory; while I, 28, can at least be understood on the assumption that the poet himself was the shipwrecked man at death's door.

<sup>6</sup> May I add a suggestion regarding the seventh stanza? Here Horace refers to three dangers which he has survived: Philippi, the *devota arbor*, and *Sicula Palinurus unda*. The last reference has not been explained. Perhaps this is an allusion to the disaster that overtook Augustus' fleet near Vibo in 36 B. C. (Vellei. III, 79, 3). Horace may well have served in that campaign as he did later at Actium.

VII.—LIVY VII. xiv. 6-10.

Dictator tamen, ut qui magis animis quam viribus fretus ad certamen descenderet, omnia circumspicere atque agitare coepit ut arte aliqua terrorem hostibus incuteret. Sollerti animo rem novam excogitat, qua deinde multi nostri atque externi imperatores, nostra quoque quidam aetate, usi sunt: mulis strata detrahi iubet binisque tantum centunculis relictis agasones partim captivis, partim aegrorum armis ornatos imponit. His fere mille effectis centum admiscet equites et nocte super castra in montes evadere ac silvis se occultare iubet neque inde ante movere quam ab se acceperint signum. Ipse, ubi inlucit, in radicibus montium extendere aciem coepit sedulo, ut adversus montes consisteret hostis. *Instructo vani terroris apparatu, qui quidem terror plus paene veris viribus profuit*, primo credere duces Gallorum non descensuros in aequum Romanos; deinde, ubi degressos repente viderunt, et ipsi avidi certaminis in proelium ruunt, priusque pugna coepit quam signum ab ducibus daretur.

The only difficulty in this clear and straightforward narrative is the awkwardness of the words italicized, when considered in relation to the context. The stratagem of Sulpicius has no bearing on the belief entertained by the Gauls that the Romans would not fight. Messrs. Walters and Conway, in the new Oxford text of Books VI-X (1919), address themselves to this difficulty, and seek to rectify the logic of the passage by a new punctuation, as follows:

Ipse, ubi inlucit, in radicibus montium extendere aciem coepit sedulo, ut adversus montes consisteret hostis, instructo vani terroris apparatu, qui quidem terror plus paene veris viribus profuit. Primo credere duces Gallorum etc.

The words *instructo—profuit* are no doubt better off when separated by the full stop from *duces Gallorum*; but the ablative absolute comes in awkwardly, telling us what we had already gathered from §§ 7 and 8, and serving principally, it would seem, as a clumsy introduction to the observation made in the clause *qui—profuit*,—an observation which would have been distinctly more in place immediately after § 8. The Oxford editors suggest indeed the possibility that the words *instructo—profuit* belong before *Ipse*, but they find in the MSS no indication that there has been a dislocation in the order.



It is, however, not necessary to resort to transposition. Keep the punctuation used by Messrs. Walters and Conway, and read *instructos* (agreeing with *montes*) for *instructo*, and Livy's thought becomes clear: Having prepared a surprise for the enemy, the Roman general manoeuvred them into a position where it would be effective, and the result fully justified his plan. We may translate thus: "The dictator himself, as soon as it was light, began to deploy his troops along the lower slopes, on purpose to make the enemy take their stand facing the mountains, where the preparations had been made for inspiring them with a fear which, groundless though it was, yet served the Romans almost better than actual strength."

The expression *instructo vani terroris apparatu* was sufficiently natural (cf. *discusso itaque vano apparatu hostium*, chap. xvii § 5) to satisfy an inattentive scribe, whose mind was working mechanically from word-group to word-group, without troubling about the larger units of sentence and paragraph. For the construction with *instructos* Livy has the following parallels, if parallels are wanted: IX. xliv. 9, *castra apparatu rerum utilium instruxit*; XXIV. xxxiv. 13, *ea pars* (sc. *Achradinae*) *eodem omni apparatu instructa erat*; XXXIV. xxix. 3, *urbs omni bellico apparatu instructa*.

B. O. FOSTER.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

## REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS LXXVI (1920), Heft 1/2.

Pp. 1-59. W. A. Baehrens, *Zur Entstehung der Ilias*. The redactor used for the composition of his *Iliad* (apart from fragments of lays at the close of Ξ and O) eight or nine single lays (A; Z 237-H 7 [perhaps also Z 119-136]; H 44-312; A 1-497a; A 620-643, 670-762; M 196-466; N 1-155, 795-837, Ξ 152-351, 402-439, O 1-366; N 360-672) and two small epics (ΓΔΕ and the subsequently recast II-Ψ 256) and himself wrote and inserted several connecting passages for the purpose of making a unified whole (B 1-49 (?), 442-452, Z 1-118, H 8-43, [a lost passage after H 322 and *passim*], A 497b-848, M 1-194, N 156-345). After this first important attempt to construct a comprehensive *Iliad*, other poets worked over the material. The Thersites-lay was inserted in B; for the purpose of including IK the author of Θ wrote his *κόλος μάχη*; and Ξ 1-152 was forced into the *Διὸς ἀπάντη*, perhaps by the same poet. Finally, three poets substantially transformed the epos II-Ψ 256. Smaller connecting passages, like B 53-86; 333-441; etc., and interpolations are numerous. Our redactor left almost unchanged the lays which he included, and, himself, composed only connecting passages. Important alterations in the ancient poems and insertions are due to the later poets. Such alterations did not affect the composition of the *Iliad* as a whole; but the latest poet, by the insertion of T, which was to correspond to I, and by the inclusion of \*Αθλα and Δύτρα, transformed and probably embellished the close of the composition which the first redactor had produced. These recastings have left their traces. The composition of the *Iliad* is far inferior to that of the *Odyssey*. The first redactor was an Ionian, perhaps of Kolophon (or of Smyrna, which fell into the hands of the Kolophonians not later than the eighth century). His name may very well have been Homer.

Pp. 60-67. Leo Weber, ΣΥΚΑ ΕΦ ΕΡΜΗΙ ΙΙΙ. (For Part II see *Philol.* LXXIV 248 ff.) Remains of a herm from the agora at Athens. A fragmentary ancient Attic epigram (IG. I 333) is taken to be the inscription on a base upon which once stood the herms erected in the market place to celebrate the great victories over the Persians.

Pp. 68-92. Wilhelm Weinberger, *Zur Hekale des Kallimachos*. A detailed examination of the fragments as recently arranged by Ida Kapp, a pupil of von Wilamowitz (*Callimachi Hecalae fragmenta*, Berlin, 1915). The Florentine and Vienna fragments, the testimonia, and the passages in Ovid referring to the myth are reexamined and some changes in the order of the fragments suggested.

Pp. 93-112. K. Münscher, *Zum Texte des Troikos Dions von Prusa*. Textual changes are suggested for §§ 12; 20-21, 26, 31, 51, 58, 67, 71, 74, 89, 108, 143, 144-6, 147, and 149. Double recensions are shown to be found at 125-8 and at 137-9.

Pp. 113-126. Th. O. Achelis, *De falso credita fabularum Babrii conversione Latina*. The fables of the fox and the grapes and the wolf and the lamb, as they appear in H. Steinhöwel's Aesop (15th century), were not taken from a supposed Latin version of Babrius, as Thiele thought, but from Rimicius' (Rinucci da Castiglione's) translation (finished in 1448) of a prose Aesop.

Pp. 127-138. Th. Birt, *Horazlesungen*. 1. Epist. 1, 2, 52 read *fulmenta* for *fomenta*; in 68 read *vera* for *verba*. 2. Sat. 1, 7, 2 Hibrida is the cognomen of Persius; cf. Antonius Hibrida, Q. Varius Hibrida. 3. Sat. 1, 1, 108, *nemon ut avarus*. This is for *utne nemo avarus*, the *-ne* being attached to *nemo*, the more emphatic word. 4. Sat. 2, 6, 29. Read "*Quid tibi vis,*" *inquam*, "*et quas res agis improbus?*" Urget. 5. Sat. 2, 6, 16 ff. The meaning of vs. 17 is: *quid prius illustrem quam hoc ipsum quod me ex urbe removi?* But the satire (vss. 23-59) describes how the *ambitio* of various people at Rome bothers Horace, who, as a satirist, is interested in man and his portrayal, not in the wind and weather.

Pp. 139-175. H. Kaffenberger, *Zur Cirisfrage*. The *Ciris* is a rough draught, not published by the author himself, but issued to the public perhaps in the time of Asconius and Probus. It was written before Vergil's *Georgics*, probably before the *Bucolics*—or, at the latest, about the same time—and before Ovid's works. It was strongly influenced by the great writers of the Roman epyllion, Cinna and Calvus. The confusion (in vss. 70-76) of the Neptune-Amphitrite with the Glaucus-Circe form of the myth may be due to an undeveloped plan that the poet entertained of introducing symmetry; but, in any case, the poem could not have been sent to Messalla in its present condition. The poet's purpose was to startle the Romans by giving a novel metamorphosis of Scylla into a bird, although he was aware that the Scyllas of the Sicilian and Megarian myths were different persons. According to the testimony of antiquity and from all that the poem tells us, Vergil was the author of the *Ciris*. Resemblances in Ovid's treatment of the myth are due to similarity of material, and, perhaps, of sources, and to the conventional style of the genre.

Pp. 176-191. L. Hahn, *Ueber das Verhältnis von Staat und Schule in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. The struggle of the republican opposition to the monarchical form of government was at the same time a struggle for the control of the youth and the

schools. Imperial favors to Roman and Greek teachers were expected to help strengthen the authority of the Empire. The character and teaching of the scholars that received preferment show this to have been the imperial policy. The qualifications required for teachers in the higher schools in 425 A. D. are given in Cod. Theodos. 6, 21, 1. The pagan emperors believed that the future belonged to him who controlled the schools and they, therefore, persecuted the Christian teachers. In their turn, the Christian emperors fought pagan opposition through the schools. Finally, Justinian adjusted the relation of school and state, as he did that of church and state, on the principle of the omnipotence of the state. Law became the popular study. Instruction in philosophy was put under the ban. The ancient religion was buried with the ancient philosophy. But the remains of ancient learning were taken over with the schools by the church, whose representatives, in consequence of the passivity of the state, now became the teachers of mankind.

Pp. 192-207. A. Bauer, Der Einfluss Lukians von Samosata auf Ulrich von Hutten. (Concluded from Philologus LXXV, 437-462.) Satiric elements (character and means of satire; objects of satire). Hutten took Lucian as his model, but elements derived from the popular literature are often more prominent in the stream of his satire. Lucian, popular in the circle of Erasmus, offered a literary form that appealed to the humanist more than did current forms of popular satire. Hutten's greatest satirical quality was invective. Lucian's view embraced the whole breadth of life, while Hutten's satire sounds greater depths and deals principally with religion and the conditions obtaining in his native land.

#### Miscellen.

Pp. 208-213. R. Kohl, Zum Schluss von Aischylos Sieben gegen Theben. Even if vss. 1005 ff. are not to be considered genuine, the *threnos* must be assigned to Antigone and the coryphaeus, while Ismene, because of the difficulties in the myth, stage-technique and poetic representation, is to be excluded. If Sophoclean influence be rejected, some of the arguments against the genuineness of the scene begin to vanish. If vss. 1039-40 mean, not a symbolic burial, but that Antigone herself carries away her brother's body (Apollod. 3, 7, 1; Philostr. imag. 432, 3 K), and if this is the form of the myth that is intended, then it makes against the argument for a careless 'redactor' who, under Sophoclean influence, is supposed to have altered the close of the tragedy.

Pp. 213-215. K. Rupprecht, Sophokles als καθαριστής. The reading of Vindobon. 281 at sec. 5 of the Vita Soph., ἐν μέσῳ (not μόνῳ) τῷ Θαμύριδι, is the correct reading. The reference

must be explained by the poet's having seized a lyre at a rehearsal of the tragedy and shown how the music should be played. The poet's inspired rendering attracted attention, and it may not have been a mere freak of fancy that led Polygnotus to immortalize the incident by painting in the Stoa Poecile Sophocles with a lyre in his hand.

Pp. 215-222. E. Howald, *Die Poetik des Aristoteles*. Aristotle used a literary source which he worked into his *Poetics* without carefully concealing the sutures. In the original form, or in the source, 'simple' tragedy meant tragedy with only a *peripeteia* and without an *anagnorisis*; 'complicated' tragedy had both. That is, this view regarded a tragedy without a *peripeteia* as impossible. The source was a manual on the art of writing poetry, not a history of poetry.

Pp. 222-225. W. Schmid, *Zwei Bemerkungen zu Aristophanes' Fröschen*. 1. An overlooked use of the *eccyclema*—in the *agon*-scene vss. 830-1481. This scene was rolled in at 830 and rolled out in 1480. Pluto's words *χωρεῖτε . . . εἰσω* would be conventional and refer to the change of scene by stage-machinery. 2. *ἱππαλεκτρῶν* (vs. 932). To the Athenian public this would suggest the favorite sports of the *jeunesse dorée*. Eryxis is compared to a *ἱππαλεκτρῶν* (934), not because of his homeliness, but because he was a devotee of the cock-fight and the horse-race. In 937, Euripides taunts Aeschylus with the use of the word, which had either vulgar or sporting associations.

Pp. 225-6. W. Schmid, *Haplogie im Satzsandhi*. An example is found in Z 395 f., which is imitated in α 50 f. (K 436 f. is to be explained by the suppression of the copula.) Plato, *Apol.* 36 B contains another example.

Pp. 226-228. W. Schmid, *Zu Platons Apologie*. The idiom *ὅτι μαθὼν* (36 B) is derived by haplology from *ὅτι τί μαθὼν*. It belongs to the colloquial speech of the older Attic period. In 37 B, the expression *ἀπολύεσθαι διαβολάς* is an unsuitable repetition from 19 A (*ἐξελίσθαι τὴν διαβολήν*). The former phrase is influenced by Demosth. 18, 4 and Isocr. 15, 56; 11, 37, and should be excised.

Pp. 228-233. A. Hartmann, *Ein Münchener Lycophron-Papyrus*. The fragment contains in very mutilated condition vss. 1108-1128 and 1154-1163.

Pp. 233-234. A. Zimmermann, *Die Göttin Oitesia* (see *Philol.* 72, 158; 74, 473). The name is from *oito* (connected with Greek *ἐ-μ*) = *ūto* (*ūtor*) with the suffix *ens-is* (from the preposition *ens* = *εις*), whence *-e(n)sia*. She was the goddess of acquisition as *Fructe(n)sia* was the goddess of fruit-culture.

Pp. 234-235. A. Becker, *Zu Hor. Sat. 1, 1, 25*. The *crustula* may have been ABC-cakes. According to popular superstition, the eating of an object would give the eater power over what was represented by the object.

Pp. 235-238. H. Koch, *Der "Tempel Gottes" bei Laktantius*. In the words *Dei templum everteretur* (*Div. inst. 5, 2, 2*), the reference is not to the destruction of the church building at Nicomedia but to a persecution of the Church.

GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG.

UNION COLLEGE, SCHENECTADY, N. Y.

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA E DI ISTRUZIONE CLASSICA, vol. XLVIII  
(1920), pts. 1, 2.

Pp. 1-26. Benvenuto Terracini. A study of the neuter plural in the Italic dialects, especially with reference to the history of such doublets as *mendum -i*, *menda -ae*. In Oscan and Umbrian the type *menda -ae* was firmly rooted, and probably more common than in Latin.

Pp. 27-39. Remigio Sabbadini. On the history of the *Codex Traguriensis* of Petronius. The whole manuscript was written at Florence between 1423 and 1424. Poggio had discovered the *Cena* in England in 1420, the fragments of books xv and xvi in 1423 at Cologne.

Pp. 40-52. M. Lenchantin De Gubernatis. On Greek and Latin accent. VI. The spelling *πέρπας* (for *πέρpas*) in the First Delphic Hymn is probably not a special coinage, to fit the musical notes. For this, it would have been sufficient, and usual, to write *πέρpas*. It was perhaps an actual variant spelling of *πέρpas*, formed by opening up the *ρ* (mute followed by *ρ*) with the insertion of a parasitic vowel. VII. Voc. *Váleri*, *Valéri*. The vocative *Váleri* reported from Nigidius Figulus (see Gelius, N. A. 13, 26, 1) should probably be regarded, not as a proparoxytone, but as representing a nominative *Váleris*.

Pp. 53-54. Adolfo Gandiglio. *Incipior* or *incipio* with the passive infinitive? Note on Nipperdey's change of *inciperet* to *inciperetur*, *Caes. B. C. III, 11, 1*. For *incipio* with a passive infinitive, cp. Pliny, N. H. 8, 193 and 6, 39; Suetonius, Aug. 76.

Pp. 55-73. Luigi Pareti. Ancora sulle presunte affinità linguistiche fra l'etrusco ed il lemnio. Reply to an article by Elia Lattes, in vol. XLVII 321-326.

Pp. 74-94. Umberto Moricca. Le tragedie di Seneca. IV. Seneca e le regole della tradizione sull' arte drammatica. Seneca shows his independence of Horace's rules (A. P. 185 ff.), by making Medea do precisely what Horace says she should not do; by assigning a different function to the chorus; by making *six* acts of his *Oedipus*; by introducing *four* speakers in the closing scene of his Agamemnon.

Pp. 95-107. Benvenuto Terracini. Obituary notice of Pier Enea Guarnerio (d. Milan, Dec. 1, 1919).

Pp. 108-134. Reviews and notices of new books: F. H. Fobes, *Aristotelis Meteorologicorum Libri Quattuor* ("Insomma, una bella e buona edizione," Ettore Bignone); R. Sabbadini, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri I-IX*; W. A. Merrill, *Notes on the Silvae of Statius, books I-III*; etc.

Pp. 135-160. Reports of periodicals and list of books received.

Pp. 161-191. Giuseppe Corradi. On the rule of Asia Minor and of the islands of the Aegean in the time of the early Seleucidae.

Pp. 192-194. P. Fabbri. De nonnullis Rhesi tragoediae locis discrepantibus. Discussion, in particular, of lines 624 ff. and 943 ff. The play does not follow the Doloneia consistently. It may be the Rhesus of Euripides worked over, and not improved, by an Alexandrian poet, perhaps of the time of the Pleiad.

Pp. 195-211. Giuseppe Ammendola. Per la critica del *De Ira* di Seneca. Textual notes on I 8, 3; 15, 3; 16, 3; 17, 4; 17, 5; 18, 3; 19, 4; II 1, 1; 7, 3; 15, 1; 15, 2; 19, 2; 20, 4; 23, 3; 28, 4; 29, 2; 30, 2; 33, 6; III 4, 4; 8, 8; 9, 4; 13, 1; 18, 4; 21, 2; 33, 1.

Pp. 212-213. Remigio Sabbadini. Pomponio Leto e il codice Mediceo di Vergilio. The writer reaffirms his opinion that the Codex Mediceus of Vergil was in the possession of Pomponio Leto about 1470-71.

Pp. 214-238. Gino Funaioli. Le fonti della silloge scolastica Filargiriana. The first instalment of a long article which studies the sources of the scholia of Philargyrius and their relation to the other scholia on Vergil.

Pp. 239-257. Arnaldo Beltrami. Clemente Alessandrino nell' *Ottavio* di M. Minucio Felice. Conclusion of an article begun in vol. XLVII 366-380. Parallel passages are quoted to show that Minucius knew and used the writings of Clement of Alexandria.

Pp. 258-266. Giuseppe Boffito. La posizione di Aristotele nella storia dell' aeronautica. Aristotle affirms the weight of the

air, *De Caelo*, iv 4. In *De Animalium Incessu*, 3, 10, 11, and in *De Animalium Motione*, 2, he discusses the resistance of the air.

Pp. 267-298. Reviews and notices of new books: Roy C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama*; Ettore Bignone, *Epicuro*; J. Vürtheim, *Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie*; etc.

Pp. 299-316. Reports of periodicals.

Pp. 317-320. List of books received.

W. P. MUSTARD.



## REVIEWS

**The Pronunciation of Latin and Greek: the sounds and accents.**

By E. H. Sturtevant, formerly Assistant Professor of Classical Philology in Columbia University. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois. 1920. Pp. xiii + 225.

Seelmann's *Aussprache des Latein* dates from 1885, and the third edition of Blass's similar book on Greek pronunciation from 1888. It was high time that the student of the classical languages should be able to find the best results of modern scholarship on these themes in a convenient compass; he now has it. The reviewer is particularly glad that the English-speaking student finds "the evidence in the case" accessible without the barrier of foreign language and style; for matters of pronunciation are of vital importance to every student, however elementary his acquaintance with the languages in question may be destined to be.

Professor STURTEVANT's book has five chapters: The Nature and Value of the Evidence; The Latin Sounds; The Greek Sounds; The Greek Accent; The Latin Accent. One most commendable feature of the book is that all passages quoted from Greek and Roman authors as evidence for the sounds or accents, are presented in English translation at the foot of the page,—a feature for which every one who has struggled with the crabbed style and awkward diction of the grammatical writers will be more than grateful.

So thorough is the reviewer's agreement with Professor Sturtevant, that he differs from him in only one major point—the nature of the Latin accent. He agrees with Professor Abbott that from about 100 B. C. to nearly 400 A. D. the educated Roman spoke with a pitch accent and the uneducated Roman with a stress accent; Professor Sturtevant holds, with English and German scholars, that through this period also Latin was spoken with a stress accent, though not a very strong one. Space forbids adequate discussion here; those interested are referred to pages 206-18 of the book under review for the one side of the question, and to Professor Abbott's article in CP. ii. 444-460 (also to a forthcoming article by the reviewer in TAPA. li) for the other.

Professor STURTEVANT's interpretation of the confused and confusing accounts which the ancient grammarians give of the pronunciation of *l* in Latin, is especially illuminating (pp. 78-81); so also his handling of final *m* (pp. 83-87), and of Greek *γ* nasal (pp. 168-169). One should note that the author of the book has done much original work in the determination of the

pronunciation of the languages; students who do not know this already will find evidence of this in the bibliographical footnotes where the activity of many American scholars is given due recognition.

Misprints, the almost inevitable blemish of every book, are very few, and those which do occur are mostly innocuous. An occasional misleading misprint, and some items of varying natures, may be listed in the order of occurrence. P. 44: One misses a reference to Mather, Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil. vi, 83-151. P. 47: the macron in *māior* etc. is awkward, though the text supplies the needed correction. P. 51: here and elsewhere, inscriptional forms might have been cited in capitals, in the conventional manner. P. 93: the restriction of the macron to use where absolutely obligatory, is unfortunate; it is peculiarly baffling on this page, where the loss of *s* before certain consonants is discussed, and *ebibo*, *tredecim*, *digero* are printed without any indication of long quantities. In line 10 of the same page, it will startle most readers to find *i* listed with *d g l m* etc. as a voiced consonant, even though he remember the terminology "consonantal *i*" found on p. 44. Pp. 100-101: the interpretation of the C-G problem of the Latin alphabet is excellent, and constitutes an advance on previous discussions; but a reference to Hempl, TAPA. xxx. 24-41, is desirable. P. 102. 5: read *Sergius* for *Serguis*. P. 107. 22: read *angens* for *angepes*. P. 108, and p. 110: Carnoy, TAPA. xlvii. 145-152, is cited, but his results are not fully utilized. Pp. 114-117: the discussion of *x* and *z* seems too brief for adequacy. P. 151, at bottom: the argument is not clear. What proves the length of *-ai* in the dative singular of the first declension? Or else, what proves its diphthongal nature? P. 152: the argument on subjunctive vowels is askew, because *λύεις λύει* contain not the lengthened *ε*, as Professor Sturtevant says, but the true diphthong (Brugmann-Thumb, Griech. Gram.<sup>4</sup> § 414. 1, § 415. 1). P. 154: the reviewer agrees with Professor Sturtevant that the use of *β* for *ϕ* in glosses and late inscriptions is no proof of a spirant pronunciation of *ϕ*, but attributes it to a spirant pronunciation of *β*, which is not very unlike the semivowel *ϕ*, rather than to a mere similarity in form of the two letters. P. 163. 19: The second consonant of *Ἑλδᾶβερ* should be *σ*. Pp. 165-166: the probability that *ρ* was voiceless after *π τ κ* is stated in an unsatisfactory and unconvincing manner. Pp. 164-167: the term "whispered" *ρ* and *λ* may be a concession to non-technicality, but "voiceless" would be better, as showing the relation to the variations of other sounds; a remark that *ρ* and *λ*, uttered in a whisper, are voiceless, would make everything clear. There is a considerable body of evidence for voicelessness of *μ* and *ν* in some positions, but no mention is made of it. Pp. 175. 22: read *κιδών* for *κιδων*. P. 207: *undecim* is from \**unum-decem* by haplology, rather than from \**unodecem* by syncope.

But these matters are trifles, and are here presented merely to enable the user of the book to make his own corrections readily. No serious or semi-serious student of Latin or of Greek can afford not to avail himself of the interesting and helpful material here presented in readily digestible form. Much less should any teacher neglect it.

ROLAND G. KENT.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

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Virgilian Studies. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1920. The Growth of the Aeneid. By M. M. CRUMP. 124 pp. 6s. The Sixth Book of the Aeneid. By H. E. BUTLER. 288 pp. 12s.

These are the latest volumes to appear in Blackwell's series of "Virgilian Studies" to which Warde Fowler contributed his three brilliant essays on the Aeneid.

Miss CRUMP argues a thesis which has been argued before, though not so persuasively, and which probably can be neither proved nor disproved. As all students of Vergil know, the poet left his epic incomplete at his death. By an examination of the portions that are or appear to be unfinished, by studying the inconsistencies due to the lack of the final hand, and by using certain obscure statements of the Scholiasts, scholars like Conrads, Sabbadini, Heinze and Gercke have attempted to ferret out the poet's method of work and the original order of the books of the Aeneid. In reading the ingenious and often extravagant combinations of Gercke, one often feels that one is being worried with an intricate but insoluble puzzle, which leads through much useless literary gossip to no results of aesthetic or historical value. Miss CRUMP's book does not give that impression, for while it adds little that is new to the argument, it is characterized by good sense, revealing keen and sound literary judgment which provides the reader with valuable points of interpretation.

Miss CRUMP is chiefly concerned with developing a suggestion of Sabbadini that the present third book was originally written in the third person to stand at the opening of the epic. This was then followed by a second book which contained the games (now in the fifth book) played at Sicily immediately after Anchises' death, and a third book which described the arrival at Carthage. The argument, which is very enticing, cannot be reviewed here. Probably those who have recently read the second chapter of Heinze's "Epische Technik" will still feel that

an even stronger case can be made for the present order of the books, and that a new discussion of the subject should have provided a more adequate consideration of the arguments pro and con which other studies of the subject have offered.

Professor BUTLER's "The Sixth Book of the Aeneid" should be in the hands of every American teacher of Vergil. It makes little pretence to originality; indeed there is not much erudition pertaining to any apposite subject that has not found a place somewhere in Norden's ponderous commentary. In a judicious introduction Professor BUTLER discusses "The Sources of Vergil's Eschatology," questioning as not proven Norden's theories of Vergil's close dependence upon Posidonius and upon a supposed "Descent of Hercules." This is followed by an edition of the text of the Sixth Book.

The commentary of two hundred pages gives not only a happy selection of essentials sifted out of many bulky editions, but every comment is evidently written with a conviction that is the product of a clear insight into Vergil's psychology, a sure sense of poetic values and a wise and penetrating scholarship.

Readers will of course miss notes of personal interest. The comment on the Sibyl's cave and Apollo's temple does not reveal first-hand knowledge of the picturesque place now being excavated. The manuscripts might have been reported more fully (cf. on line 495) without much loss of space—and "capitals" are usually not now called "uncials." Grossrau's view of line 586 (Salmoneus' punishment is made appropriate to his crime) is adopted as against Cerda's, which Norden has supported with new parallels in his second edition (not accessible to Dr. BUTLER). Varius' poem is not cited in any authority as "*de morte Caesaris*" (cf. on 621). At line 789 nothing is said of the widely accepted view that Julius Caesar is here referred to. At line 841 a reference might have been made to Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 398. The identity of Cossus was apparently a question that interested the court about 27 B. C. But one has to search Dr. BUTLER's volume for such minor inadequacies. The book is a most welcome addition to the many sympathetic studies of Vergil that the sound classical scholarship of England has been foremost in providing.

TENNEY FRANK.

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Aeneas at the Site of Rome: Observations on the Eighth Book of the Aeneid. By W. WARDE FOWLER. Oxford: B. B Blackwell, 1917. Reprint, May 1919, pp. viii, 1-130.

No young man should attempt to interpret the Aeneid. The value of this little book lies in the author's long experience of

life as well as in the accumulated knowledge of years of study devoted to Virgil and to the religious experience of the Roman people. "The sweet air of futurity" that envelops the episodes of this book of the Aeneid Mr. FOWLER invokes for the readers' "enjoyment and trust" in the dark days of the summer of 1917. The plan of the eighth book was "unquestionably a happy one," and Virgil's success in giving reality to the scenes he depicts will seem equally happy to anyone who reads the book in Rome and especially if he is fortunate enough to read it, as I did, to a class of eager students on the Palatine Hill. Mr. FOWLER's long familiarity with Italy, especially Rome, makes his comments of rare value in comparison with the stereotyped notes of the ordinary editor. His warning against the use of parallels from Lucan, Statius, and other later Latin writers for explaining Virgil is a needed caution. Parallels with Ennius, Lucretius and Catullus, on the contrary, are most valuable. Read the note on lines 1-5.

The rescuing of the fine simile (lines 22-25) from the darkening comments of German and English scholars is a grateful service. The parallel from Apollonius Rhodius makes Virgil shine in comparison, and is an illustration of the truth that the citation of a Greek original is not an explanation but rather, as Mr. DeWitt has pointed out, a signal to watch Virgil closely in order to capture his art. A favorite passage (86-101) is cleared of difficulties by removing the period after *celerant* and taking *rumore secundo* to refer to the boatmen's song. In line 108, *tacitis incumbere remis*, glide at an "easy" to the shore is certainly the correct rendering. Lines 127-150-174 bring Evander and Aeneas together, Greek and Trojan,—the common origins of Rome. The note is a model, and is new. On lines 190-272, the story of Cacus, Mr. FOWLER rightly defends Virgil as a story-teller. The walk with Evander as guide over the land that was to be the site of Rome (338 sqq.) furnishes Mr. FOWLER with just the opportunity he desires and the comment is the best in the book. The pathos of Anchisiades (521) and the sadness of *putabant* (522) do not escape notice. For the first time we have an adequate note on the passage and a penetrating criticism of Sellar's limitations as an interpreter of Virgil. Evander's speech (560-583) is emphasized because of its "pathos and tender Italian feeling" and because it helps "to link together the points of the story that is coming." Mr. FOWLER sees pictured on the "Shield of Aeneas" the birth of national feeling in Italy after the battle of Actium; the relief, not triumph, that follows in Rome after a series of escapes from destruction.

M. S. SLAUGHTER.

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto. Edited and translated by C. R. HAINES. Vol. II. London: W. Heinemann, 1920. 371 pp.

Martial, Epigrams, with an English Translation by WALTER C. A. KER. Vol. II. London: W. Heinemann, 1920. 568 pp.

The first of these books completes the edition of Fronto in the Loeb Classical Library. It shows the same careful, sympathetic treatment as the first volume (A. J. P. XLI 297). One good feature is an excellent index. Certainly, Fronto has been fortunate in his latest editor. 'Inductum,' p. 46, l. 7, and 'eligendum,' p. 62, l. 1, have each an inverted 'u'; p. 276, l. 9, has 'in' for 'id.' P. 107, l. 16, has 'five' for 'four'; p. 255, l. 3, 'son-in-law' for 'father-in-law.'

The other volume completes the Loeb edition of Martial. The translation is uniformly good. In XII 32, 18, 'Telosatis' should be 'Tolosatis.' In XI 60, 4, 'senem Pelian' is not the 'aged Pylian.' At XI 16, 8, 'uda' hardly means 'in her cups'; contrast 'sicca,' XI 81, 2, and Ovid, A. A. II 686.

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

ETTORE STAMPINI. Studi di Letteratura e Filologia. Seconda serie. Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1921. xiv + 463 pp. Lire 24.

This second volume of Professor STAMPINI's 'collected works' is published to mark the completion of his fortieth year of university teaching. Like the first volume (see A. J. P. XXXVIII 116) it includes a number of studies which have appeared in various books and journals in the last forty years. It begins with 112 pages on 'Le Odi barbare di G. Carducci e la metrica latina' (1881)—one of the earliest, and probably one of the best, discussions of Carducci's imitations of classical metres. It republishes the introduction to an edition of the Adelphe of Terence (1891), and to a critical edition of Horace (1892). It contains verse translations of the six poems of Sulpicia daughter of Servius, and of thirty-eight of the shorter poems of Catullus. It offers a number of textual notes on the Fifth Book of Lucretius. In an appendix Professor STAMPINI gives a further selection from his own inscriptions and other formal compositions in Latin and Italian. Time has modified the sentiment he expressed in some of them—for example, the complimentary addresses to William II of Germany (1896) and to President Wilson (1919)—but he lets them stand as historical documents.

In the Fifth Book of Lucretius he proposes to read: 312, quae neque proporro sibi cumque senescere credas; 468, corpore con-

creto circumdatus undique fudit; 485, uerberibus crebris extremæ ad limina partis; 881, hinc illinc par, uis non sat par si esse potissit; 1012-13, concessit in unum concubitum; 1409, et numerum seruare modis didicere neque hilo; 1442, tum mare ueliuolum florebat litora propter.

W. P. MUSTARD.

A. ROSTAGNI. *Ibis: Storia di un poemetto greco.* Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1920. 123 pp. 12 lire.

This study of Ovid's *Ibis* leads the author to some very novel conclusions, which he is bold enough to maintain. The Greek poem which Ovid imitated was not the authentic work of Callimachus. It was "a patient mosaic of reminiscences of Callimachus," composed in the first half of the second century B. C. It was aimed, not at Apollonius of Rhodes, but at some fictitious enemy named *Ibis* (a man of Libyan origin). It had nothing to do with the personal habits of the bird *ibis*; the mischief-making lines of Ovid's poem, 451-2, *Et quibus exiguo volucris devota libello est, Corpora proiecta quae sua purgat aqua*, are an interpolation. It is translated, pretty faithfully, by Ovid (who regarded it as the work of Callimachus) and applied to an unknown enemy of his own. Finally, the scholia on Ovid's *Ibis* may be in the main translated from scholia on the Greek poem.

W. P. MUSTARD.

Professor W. M. LINDSAY has published a preliminary list of the *Liebaert Collection of (1644) Photographs from Latin MSS.* I quote as follows from the introductory paragraph: "The late Abbé Paul Liebaert, of the Vatican Library, whose interests were divided between the script of the earlier and the illumination of the later Latin MSS., made with his excellent camera many photographs (in natural size) in many libraries. His negatives are now to help palaeographical study. By a letter to the photographer, Pompeo Sansaini, Via Antonio Scialoja 3, Rome, a photograph can be procured from any negative. A full, accurate, authoritative list of the negatives will be published in the *Studi e Testi*."

C. W. E. MILLER.

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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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## I.—CHANSONS DE GESTE AND THE HOMERIC PROBLEM.

In 1795 when Wolf published his "Prolegomena" and thus first called to the attention of scholars the problem as to the origin and composition of the Iliad and the Odyssey, the Old French epic poems, known generally as "chansons de geste," had been forgotten for centuries. But almost as soon as the manuscripts of these poems began to be noticed, their similarity in form and matter to the Greek epos was at once apparent. It was a classical scholar, Immanuel Bekker, who in 1829 published the first edition of a chanson de geste, the Provençal "Fierabras." Bekker instituted later a detailed comparison<sup>1</sup> between Homeric and Old French customs, culture and modes of expression. A similar comparison was made by Littré<sup>2</sup> in France, who in 1841 went so far as to translate into the language and meter of the chansons the first book of the Iliad, an interesting, if not very successful, *tour de force*. Since then almost every Homeric critic has cited the chansons, and their evidence has been adduced on both sides of the century-old controversy, by the "unitarians" as well as by the "chorizontes," by Lang and Drerup as well as by Cauver and Gilbert Murray. But generally these comparisons have been made without intimate and extensive knowledge of the vast mass of epic material contained in the Old French manuscripts. Murray, for instance, relies entirely on G. Paris' "Manuel" and small edition of the *Chanson de Roland*, Lang on Gautier's "Epo-

<sup>1</sup> I. Bekker, Vergleichung homerischer und altfranzoesischer Sitten, in Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss., 1866, and, Homerische Ansichten und Ausdrucksweisen mit altfranzoesischen zusammengestellt, *ibid.*, 1867.

<sup>2</sup> E. Littré, La poésie homérique et l'ancienne poésie française, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, 1847; reprinted in: *Histoire de la langue française*, 1862, I, 301ff.

pées," Drerup on Rajna's "Origini." So it seems to me that a comparison from the other viewpoint may not be without interest to classical scholars. In the following pages then I intend to indicate and discuss some analogies between the Greek and the French epics, from the standpoint of a student of the latter. I shall by no means indicate all the parallels that might be drawn. That would be an almost endless task, especially in matters of social and institutional history, modes of thought and expression. My design now is to illustrate certain moot points of Homeric criticism by materials taken from the *chansons de geste*.

In the last thirty years the critical study of Homer has been greatly modified by the discovery of new archaeological and anthropological evidence. The excavations in Troy, Mycenae and Crete have proved that there existed, at a time preceding the traditional date of the Trojan War, a rich and well developed civilization. Homer's description of the wealth and power of Mycenae and Troy now seems, if anything, to be inferior to the reality. At the same time closer investigation of the cults of ancient Greece has disclosed the existence of a mass of beliefs, rites and customs unknown to, or ignored by, Homer. There has been likewise a shifting of views in regard to the evolution and composition of the poems. Lachmann's "Kleinlieder" theory is almost entirely given up. While the majority of the critics cling to the Wolfian hypothesis to the extent that it presupposes a long, traditional "Vorgeschichte" to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, I suppose that few of them would now care to deny that at some stage of the process a great poet was at work, shaping and transforming, by his own genius, the legendary material. Nor, on the other hand, do "Unitarians" like Lang and Drerup deny the possibility of interpolations and reworkings, to a limited extent, of the original poems. The present problem, I take it, is this: whether or not the Homeric poems are the result of a long process of evolution, and whether the different "strata" or moments of that evolution can be distinguished in the poems themselves. A secondary but related problem is that of the credibility of the poems in respect to the cultural and political history contained in them. For both these questions we find abundant illustrative analogies in the *chansons de geste*.

The later poems in their turn occupy by no means the position they once filled in the eyes of the student of epic origins. Till the days when M. Joseph Bédier published his epoch-making "*Légendes épiques*," we were all, more or less, convinced that the chansons likewise were the final product of a long, but hidden, process of development. Going back to traditions or sagas, in verse form or otherwise, contemporaneous with the events they record, they had, in the course of the ages, dropped or distorted their original kernels of historic truth, incorporated disparate elements of various provenance, undergone constant rehandling, interpolation and excision, all by oral transmission, till finally, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they were fixed in writing in the form we now possess.<sup>3</sup> It is, I think, safe to say that M. Bédier's brilliant criticism has not left one stone of this theoretical edifice standing. There is absolutely no trustworthy evidence that an epic tradition about Charlemagne and the heroes associated with him existed in France prior to 1050 A. D.<sup>4</sup> Whether the positive results of M. Bédier's investigations, the dependence of the authors of the chansons on the "clercs" of the pilgrim shrines and routes, are equally certain, I do not purpose here to inquire. For my comparisons I intend to accept fully his main contention: the French epics were "*nées au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle seulement; nous les possédons en des versions identiques ou fort ressemblantes aux versions originales.*" For the purposes of this paper I shall go even farther than M. Bédier; I shall not assume the existence of any lost versions whatsoever, except in so far as study of the rimes shows copying, though I believe that in some cases they undoubtedly existed. It is ill arguing from one unknown to another unknown. The unknown quantity in the Homeric problem is the material — myths, history, ballads, long poems, prose sagas, or what not—that lies behind the preserved Iliad and Odyssey. So I assume no unknown material at all behind the French epics. I simply take what is preserved in them, and I then

<sup>3</sup> This theory has been stated most fully in the various works of the late G. Paris; see also Rajna, *passim*, and Voretzsch, *Einführung*, pp. 108-136, 195-257.

<sup>4</sup> For Bédier's unanswered criticism of the texts previously adduced in favor of the older theory, see *Lég. ép.* I, 171ff., II, 349ff., III, 195ff., IV, 289ff.

proceed to question this known quantity as to how it may elucidate the unknown quantity in the Greek epos.

The epic material in Old French is contained in about ninety chansons, ranging in length from a few hundred to twenty thousand or more verses. These chansons are preserved in manuscripts of various date, none of which however goes back farther than the second half of the twelfth century. Criteria of language and historical allusions enable us to fix the date of composition of most of the versions of which our manuscripts are copies. It is a conservative estimate to say that the earliest chansons were composed in the first years of the twelfth century, the latest before the middle of the fourteenth.<sup>6</sup> The manuscripts are in most cases somewhat later. For instance, *Aiquin*, a poem of the twelfth century, is preserved only in one manuscript of the fifteenth. For each chanson, we possess from one to thirteen manuscript copies, often differing considerably from one another in respect to dialect, wording and details of narrative. There was, furthermore, a constant tendency to group the songs together in cycles or "gestes" dealing with the same hero or family of heroes.<sup>7</sup> In such matters as versification, style, vocabulary and "atmosphere," our poems are remarkably homogeneous. The legendary events narrated in them are associated with Charlemagne or his immediate predecessors or successors (with a few exceptions),<sup>8</sup> being thus, as with Homer, supposed to occur in a distant and heroic past when men were mightier than they are now. The general theme of all is either the national and religious struggle against the Saracen, or else the strife of the feudal nobles with the kings or with one another.<sup>9</sup> It will be seen from this brief recapitulation how vast a mass of epic material we have pre-

<sup>6</sup> Formerly it was thought that the *Roland*, the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, possibly also *Gormont et Isembart*, dated from 1070-1090, but now opinion is tending to the belief that no chanson is earlier than the First Crusade (1096-1099).

<sup>7</sup> This cyclic tendency went farthest in the case of the "geste de Guillaume" and the short "geste des Lorrains;" the others are artificial.

<sup>8</sup> Exceptions are: the "cycle de la Croisade," *Floovant*, of which the hero is a supposed Merovingian, and *Hugues Capet*, late and unhistorical.

<sup>9</sup> Typical poems in each of these classes are: *Roland*, *Renaut de Montauban*, *Raoul de Cambrai*.

served in the chansons de geste. Now let us see what parallels they present to the Homeric poems.

In the first place, in matters of text and language, it is at once apparent that the chansons represent a stage anterior to that of the Homeric vulgate. The text of all of them is remarkably fluid, subject as it was to the whims of each successive copyist or "remanieur." The variants in the MS tradition are more numerous and more serious than is the case for Homer. Take for instance one of the least altered chansons, *Aymeri de Narbonne* (4708 lines, early thirteenth century). We possess of this song five manuscripts, which agree in only 281 verses of the first thousand. Moreover, as compared with the critical text, MS A<sup>1</sup> shows a *plus* of 21 and a *minus* of 20 full lines, MS A<sup>2</sup> a *plus* of 37 and a *minus* of 33, MS B<sup>1</sup> a *plus* of 19 and a *minus* of 126, MS B<sup>2</sup> a *plus* of 25 and a *minus* of 125. In most cases, the proportion of variant or redundant lines is far greater than this. For example, *Hervi de Metz*, a late chanson, without "traditional" elements, is preserved in three manuscripts. Of these, MSS T and N have long interpolations in the middle and at the end of the poem. Besides, in the first thousand lines, without long interpolations, the three MSS agree absolutely in only 11 lines; and T shows a *plus* of 26, a *minus* of 3, N, a *plus* of 84 and a *minus* of 18, E, a *plus* of 54 and a *minus* of 55. This will suffice, I think, to show the fluidity of the textual tradition. In the case of the older chansons like *Roland*, *Aliscans*, *Renaut de Montauban* and others, the interpolations and changes are much more numerous. I shall discuss some of them more fully when I come to consider the possibility of multiple composition or reworking.

As compared then with the vulgate Homer, our chansons show an extremely "fluid" text, somewhat like, for example, that presented by some of the papyrus manuscripts of Homer lately discovered in Egypt.\* The difference is easily explainable. None of the French epics ever became a public and national "bible," none (till nineteenth-century scholars got hold of them) was worked over by scholars interested in their text. The chansons have in their past no Aristarchus, no Zenodotus, not even a Pisistratus (be it said with all due reserve as to the question of a "Pisistratean redaction"). They are then

\* See Cauer, 27ff., Murray, 302ff.

comparable only with a very early "Homer," an "ante-Pisistratean" phase, when the text was not fixed, when the great poems were hardly distinguished from the mass of the epic cycle, when tradition as well as text was developing and formless. What the chansons teach us in this connection is, that in epochs of epic "fermentation" text is less stable than tradition, which in its turn, as we shall see, is subject to reworking, and that free poetic invention is constantly at work.

Much more important is the evidence supplied by the chansons as to the question of the Homeric dialect.<sup>10</sup> As is well known, the language of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is by no means homogeneous. The predominant dialect form of the poems is Ionic, but Aeolic words and forms constantly recur, and there is some evidence of an "Attic recension." To account for this mixture, three hypotheses have been proposed: 1, That the epos was composed when Aeolic and Ionic were not differentiated; what we find in Homer is the original "Achaean" dialect, modified somewhat by transmission (Agar, Allen, E. Meyer). 2, That the poems were originally composed in a territory on the boundary of the two dialects and that Homer's language is a sort of "Mischbildung," showing a knowledge of both (Drerup). 3, That the "Aeolisms" of Homer are relics of the dialect in which the poems were composed; that the primitive Homer was an Aeolian and the poems were later transposed into Ionic (Fick, Murray).

Now this mixture of forms belonging to several dialects is a fact familiar to every student of the chansons de geste. Hardly a single version is written in an absolutely "pure" dialect form. No copyist, apparently, hesitated to introduce forms and words of his own dialect into his text, or made any effort to preserve carefully the original orthography and syntax. Of course, this is merely another proof of the fluidity of the text, and as such serves to illustrate what may have happened to Homer in the ages before Pisistratus. Frequently, by careful observation of assonance, rime and measure of verse, it is possible to deduce the dialect of the original version of which we have only the copy. The scribe often writes the rime-word in his own orthography, but rarely takes the trouble to make a new rime. So it is not difficult to restore the dialect of the

<sup>10</sup> See Cauer, 147ff., Drerup, 218ff.



author, and this is frequently done by modern editors. For instance, three very early chansons, *Roland*, the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, and *Gormont et Isembart* are preserved in Anglo-Norman manuscripts, and the orthography is prevailingly Anglo-Norman. But a study of the versification and rimes shows that none of these poems was written in Anglo-Norman, but in a continental dialect which may be restored without much disturbance of the text of the manuscripts.<sup>11</sup> In the case of the *Roland* alone are versions preserved in other dialects, one being in the artificial "Franco-Italian" speech-form of which I shall say something later. Of two songs, *Orson de Beauvais* and *Floovant*, we possess only two manuscripts written by Lorraine copyists. The orthography is marked by distinctive Lorraine peculiarities, but a study of the rimes and versification proves that the original poet was not a Lorrainer but a native of another province.

Thus, a mixture of forms belonging to different dialects is common in the manuscripts of most chansons. This mixture is generally due, as I have shown, to the copyists, but in some cases at least is to be ascribed to the author. *Girart de Roussillon*, according to Paul Meyer,<sup>12</sup> was written originally in a dialect lying on the boundary between French and Provençal, and shows a mixture of both languages. Later manuscripts show, in one case, almost pure North-French speech-forms, in another, equally pure Provençal. The *Prise de Cordres*, written by a Champenois, shows many Central-French forms, due undoubtedly to the author. The unique manuscript is the work of a Lorrainer, who has introduced many Lorraine forms.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> This has been done, e. g., by G. Paris in his "Extraits de la chanson de Roland," and by Bayot in his edition of *Gormont et Isembart*. Since writing the above, I have been able to study the work of Gertrud Wacker, *Ueber das Verhältnis von Dialekt und Schriftsprache im Altfranzösischen* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen, No. 11), Halle, 1916, which deserves the attention of all who discuss the language used by Old French poets. Miss Wacker proves, quite conclusively, that most of these poets wrote in an artificial ~~work~~—that of the Anglo-Norman and French courts—and deliberately, though not entirely or consistently, suppressed dialectal peculiarities. She does not, however, consider many of the chansons de geste. Her results do not modify essentially the statements made above.

<sup>12</sup> See the Introduction to his translation of the poem, 180ff.

<sup>13</sup> See Densusianu, Introduction to his edition, 124ff.

*Orson de Beauvais* was composed probably by a native of the Beauvaisis, but he introduced into his work many "Francien" forms. The manuscript shows an incoherent mixture of three dialects, those of the Ile-de-France, the Beauvaisis, and Lorraine, the last due to the copyist.<sup>14</sup> It is now generally admitted that later poets frequently sought to write in "buen françois," Parisian, though they necessarily retained many traces of their native speech.

The most remarkable instances of dialect-mixture occur in cases where the author or copyist was not a Frenchman, but a Provençal or an Italian. Thus, *Fierabras*, a chanson composed in French and preserved in four manuscripts in that speech, was at an early date transposed into Provençal, and we have of this version one manuscript of the thirteenth century.<sup>15</sup> In its rimes, this manuscript presents a bizarre confusion of Provençal and French forms, due to the incapacity of the translator and his desire to keep the rimes of the original. Again, *Daurel et Beton* is a poem composed undoubtedly by a Provençal minstrel. He has however introduced into his text a large number of French words and forms, due in this case to the fact that at this time French was the accepted epic speech and that most of the poems the author was acquainted with were in that dialect.<sup>16</sup> But where dialect-mixture goes farthest is in the case of the so-called "Franco-Italian" poems. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the popularity of the French chansons was so great that the minstrels and poets of North Italy began to give them a dress which should make them more familiar to the ear of their Italian hearers. For this purpose, a curious jargon, half French, half Italian, was devised, which does not correspond to any known speech-form. This wholly artificial poetic language has been called Franco-Italian by modern scholars. In it are preserved versions of several well-known French epics, notably the *Roland*. One chanson, *Macaire*, exists only in this form, but is undoubtedly an adaptation of a French original.<sup>17</sup> Later, in the fourteenth century, original poems, dealing with the same epic legends, were composed in this dialect by native

<sup>14</sup> See G. Paris, *Introd.* pp. VII ff.

<sup>15</sup> See Kroeber et Servois, in the preface to their edition, Viff.

<sup>16</sup> See P. Meyer, *Introd.* to edition, 36ff.

<sup>17</sup> See Guessard, *Preface* to his edition, XV ff.

Italians. Such a one is, for example, the *Entrée d'Espagne*,<sup>18</sup> a long and spirited poem intended to serve as an introduction to the *Chanson de Roland*, and composed by a Paduan.

A knowledge of the dialect relations in the chansons de geste would have prevented or modified some rather dogmatic assertions by Homeric scholars. Thus, T. W. Allen, in his recent *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on Homer,<sup>19</sup> affirms that Fick's theory, according to which originally Aeolic poems were transposed into Ionic, is impossible, because such an event would be "unique in history." But in the history of the French epos such transposition is extremely common, as we have seen. Similarly Agar<sup>20</sup> claims that the idea that the epic dialect is an artificial poetic medley, Ionic in the main with some intermixture of other dialects, is "frankly impossible." The idea was not impossible to any Provençal or North Italian poet of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

This exposition has shown, I think, that the chansons offer no support, by analogy, to the theory that Homer's language represents an original Achæan dialect, out of which Aeolic, Ionic and Attic were developed. But they do present examples of dialect-mixture due to either of the two causes adduced to account for the linguistic conditions of the Homeric poems. In most cases, however, the confusion in them is due to later copyists or adapters, and therefore tends to confirm, by analogy, the justice of the views of Fick and his followers.

A great deal of attention has been given by recent criticism to what may be called "cultural evolution" in the Homeric poems.<sup>21</sup> As "traditional books" they have been thought to show traces of the development in institutions, manners and beliefs through which the race which produced them passed. A great amount of work of this character has been done, though critics are by no means in accord as to what the results prove. Some think that the poems show an evident mixture of old and new conditions, due partly to "expurgation," partly to retention of traditional features, partly to conscious or unconscious

<sup>18</sup> As to this poem, and the "Franco-Italian" jargon in general, see the exhaustive account of A. Thomas, in the introduction to his edition.

<sup>19</sup> 11th edition, Vol. XIII, p. 632.

<sup>20</sup> In his recent work, *Homericæ*, Oxford, 1908.

<sup>21</sup> See especially Murray, 136ff., Caer, 259ff., Lang, *Homer and his Age*, 6ff.

archaizing. Others think that the picture of life presented by Homer is unified and harmonious, though here again with sharp differences of opinion as to the date of the society thus portrayed. The chansons present in this connection some curious analogies to the Iliad and Odyssey, and also considerable indirect evidence as to the possibility of "expurgation" and "archaisms" in the popular epic.

But first a word should be said in regard to the chansons as "traditional books." There is no evidence that the manuscripts of these poems were ever numerous. Most of those preserved belong to one of two classes: small, portable codices, the property of the minstrels who used them to refresh their memory; or, secondly, large, costly volumes, generally cyclic, designed for some nobleman's library.<sup>22</sup> There is some evidence to show that the "jongleurs" guarded their manuscripts jealously. But there is no proof that any chanson was ever considered as a holy book, of importance to the race. Notwithstanding their wide popularity, their quasi-historical character (generally credited at the time, as the Pseudo-Turpin,<sup>23</sup> other chronicles and especially the forged monastic charters containing names of epic heroes as witnesses show), the chansons never became official or sacred documents. They were entertainment, not instruction. And as time went on, this popular character increased. The cultivated aristocracy, which during the twelfth and part of the thirteenth centuries had heard the songs gladly, turned away from them. The latest compositions, notwithstanding the efforts of certain court-minstrels like Adenet le Roi<sup>24</sup> to give them an aristocratic tone, are bourgeois, not to say vulgar, in style.<sup>25</sup> They never became, as the Greek epos did, objects of national reverence and study; there is no Pan-Athenaeon festival in their history.

In such circumstances, it is idle to expect much "expurgation"<sup>26</sup> in the chansons. Notwithstanding the numerous revisions they underwent, it is not often that we can say definitely that a certain change is due to a change in the ethical feeling

<sup>22</sup> See Gautier, *Epopées*, II, 48ff.

<sup>23</sup> See Bédier, III, 42ff.

<sup>24</sup> Author of two rehandled epics, *Berte au grand pied* and *Bueve de Commarchie*.

<sup>25</sup> Such are, for example, *Hugues Capet* and *Baudouin de Sebourg*.

<sup>26</sup> See Murray, 141ff.

of the poets. But we can see such a process at work in some instances. One of the best-known episodes in the French epos is William of Orange's visit to King Louis in search of aid. The hero arrives at court in sorry state, and is at first mocked and derided. But he succeeds in so impressing Louis that the latter eventually promises assistance. Then Queen Blanche-fleur, William's sister, intervenes against her brother, whereat the latter turns upon her, upbraids her violently, and finally threatens her life. In the earliest version of this story (*Chanson de Guillaume*, 2592-2626) the Queen accuses William of seeking the crown and says that his wife Guiborc, who was "née en paisnisme," designs to poison the King. Thereupon William "a poi n'esraga d'ire," and in a speech whose coarseness of language is unexampled in the French epos, accuses his sister of numberless adulteries and of thinking of naught but her lust and greed. In the second version (*Aliscans*, 2767-2799), Blanche-fleur omits all mention of poisoning, and William's speech is softened considerably. In the third version (*Foucon de Candie*, 6688-6768), the Queen, who is not at court, receives the news by letter; then, in a speech of great charm, but based in substance on the preceding versions, she finally recognizes William's merit and consents to Louis' departure. This is evidently a case of expurgation, as Murray uses the term. Another is found in Jehan Bodel's poem *Les Saisnes* (The Saxons). In the two earlier manuscripts is found a narrative relating the disgraceful conduct of the wives of the heroes. These ladies "as qex et as sergentz faisoient lor deliz," while their husbands are warring with the infidel Saxons. The third manuscript omits all the verses (1186-1193, 1639-1773) referring to this episode. But in most cases it is very difficult to determine whether a desire to expurgate or some other motive causes the change. It should also be remembered that there is no background of savagery, of primitive cults and creeds, behind the French legends. Advance in civilisation doubtless occurred in the centuries in which the epos flourished, but that advance found other modes of expression. So that the evidence of the chansons as to expurgation is doubtful.

As to cultural archaisms or archaizing, however, the case is decidedly different. As this is a much debated question in Homeric criticism, I shall discuss it at some length, especially

since the chansons present some curious parallels. Many critics think that indications of two distinct stages in culture can be detected in Homer, an early or "Mycenaean" period agreeing substantially with that disclosed by the archeological discoveries of recent years, and another later stage, agreeing with the ordinary Ionic Greek culture of the sixth century B. C. Some scholars deny these differences altogether; some explain them as the result of a long poetical development which retained some primitive features found in the original "Achaean" lays; still others consider the archaic features the result of conscious archaizing on the part of the Ionic Homer (or Homers).

Now as to archaisms or archaizing in general, it must be said that the evidence of the chansons de geste is directly contrary to anything of the sort. Nothing is more characteristic of the naive medieval poet—whether minstrel or clerk matters not—than his total incapacity to imagine a society or a civilisation different from his own. This trait is most marked, of course, in those poems which borrow their "matter" from antiquity. In the *Roman de Troie*,<sup>21</sup> for example (based on Dictys and Dares), or the *Roman de Thèbes*<sup>22</sup> (based on Statius' *Thebais*), the heroes, named in this case Hector, Achilles, Adrastus or Tydeus, fight on horseback with lances and are armed with hauberk, helm and oblong shield, exactly like Roland or the contemporary knights of the crusading epoch. In the case of the chansons de geste, every attempt to show the existence in them of cultural archaisms has been vain. All the traits of the life described in them, political, social, religious, agree with those of the feudal society of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and with nothing else. They do not ever agree, save in representing Charlemagne as "emperor" and a mighty ruler, with those of the Frankish, pre-feudal society of the age of Charles the Great and Louis I. And when changes in culture occur, the poet puts these changes, when they concern his "matter," naively into his picture of the heroic age. A striking but crude illustration of this tendency is the reference to "cordeliers et jacobins" (Franciscan and Dominican friars) put into the

<sup>21</sup> About 1160, by Benoit de Sainte Maure, pub. by Constans, 6 vols. Paris, 1904-12.

<sup>22</sup> Early twelfth century, anonymous, published by Constans, 2 vols. Paris, 1890.

mouth of a baron of Charlemagne in *Gaydon*,<sup>29</sup> a chanson of the early thirteenth century. Neither order was established in France till after 1200. The chansons do not, of course, present a complete and accurate picture of feudal society as a whole. Many traits are neglected or distorted, this being especially noticeable in the treatment of church matters. Now let us consider some special cases where the parallel between medieval France and Homeric Greece is well marked.

First, as to writing. It is well known that Homer makes only one doubtful allusion to that art.<sup>30</sup> Earlier critics believed that this showed that the Greeks were ignorant of the art of writing till after the composition of the poems, so that the latter must once have existed as a purely oral production. The recent discoveries in Crete have refuted this assumption; there is now no doubt that writing was known to the Aegean peoples at a date long anterior to that usually given of the Trojan War. How then account for Homer's apparent ignorance of it? E. Meyer and Wilamowitz regard this ignorance as a deliberate archaism. The poet or poets suppressed all reference to writing and letters. Here the example of the chansons may teach us caution. Notwithstanding the knowledge of writing, books and letters prevalent in feudal France (a knowledge far more widely spread than is generally supposed), the references to writing in the chansons are singularly scanty. Generally, it is mentioned only when the king or baron summons his men to join him, when he sends out "ses bries et ses chartres." Thus in *Aymeri de Narbonne* (4708 lines) writing (or, the same thing for our purpose, books and reading) is mentioned only three times, in *Raoul de Cambrai* (8726 lines) four times. These references in *Raoul* are interesting: two, lines 1305 and 1506, are allusions to a book, a "sautier," owned by a nun; one, line 1795, is a boast by one of the heroes that his enemy's death is "escribe el grant fer de ma lance," written on his lance's point; the other, line 5538, is one of the usual kind, the king ordering his "escrivains" (variant, "chapelains"), to "faire mes chartres." In the late and unoriginal *Gui de Bourgogne* the only allusion to the art is the statement (line 1666) by Archbishop Turpin

<sup>29</sup> *Gaydon*, 6456: *Et cordeliers et jacobins bates.*

<sup>30</sup> In *Z*, 168-169. See Caer, 260ff., Drerup, 70ff.

that he is "bons clers letrez," a good clerk knowing his letters. I wonder if the epithets applied to Kalchas (N 70) *θεοπρόρος* *οἰωνοτής* do not imply just as much,—or as little. In *Parise la Duchesse* (3107 lines, late) the only allusion is the statement (line 965) that the young son of the heroine Parise "aprist a letres tant qu'il en sot assez." Lastly it might be mentioned that in the very early first part of the *Chanson de Guillaume* (1983 lines) there is not one allusion to books, reading or writing. All this proves of course that books and writing did not much interest the poets of the chansons, nor their public. Might not the same be said of Homer?

Another much disputed question in the cultural relations of Homer is that of armor.<sup>21</sup> Some scholars contend that there is clear evidence that two sorts of armor can be distinguished, used by the heroes of the Homeric poems, an earlier "Mycenaean" kind consisting of a helmet and huge, figure-8 shield, but no body-armor; the other, that of the later Greeks of the classical age, helm, round shield, greaves, corselet. Many critics claim that the lines referring to round shields, greaves and corselets are inorganic, interpolated by the redactors. Now the medieval system of defensive armor likewise underwent changes,<sup>22</sup> which are reflected in the epic poems, but *not* in the same poem. Originally, the feudal knight was protected by a helm, a plain, oblong shield and a byrny (broigne). The latter was a long leather tunic on which rings of iron were sewed. In the eleventh century the "broigne" was gradually supplanted by the "haubert" or mail-shirt. The shield became broader and was painted with a "blazon" or coat of arms. Later, in the early fourteenth century, plate armor began to replace mail. Now the earlier chansons use the words "broigne" and "haubert" as synonymous, but before the end of the twelfth century the poets give up entirely the use of the former term. In the earlier chansons also, the shields are "peinz à flors," but there is no mention of armorial bearings. The earliest mention of the latter is in the *Prise d'Orange*, a chanson which dates from

<sup>21</sup> See Murray, 173 ff., Cauer, 270 ff., Reichel, *Homericische Waffen*, 2d ed. Vienna, 1901.

<sup>22</sup> See especially L. Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, 705 ff., Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française*, III, 451 ff.



about 1160, just the time when the first blazoned shields appear on funeral effigies, etc. The coincidence is striking, though I fear it will bring no comfort to those who believe in an archaizing epic. Still more noteworthy is the fact that in the few late chansons which date from the fourteenth century the heroes begin to wear plate armor, as in *Baudouin de Sebourg* (vol. II, p. 350): "apres le jaserant qu'a maint estour porta, unes plates d'achier par desseure lacha."<sup>33</sup> Everywhere then in the Old French epic we find the poet dressing his heroes in the armor of his own day. Nowhere does any "Carolingian" armor occur, though naturally Saracens and heathen sometimes wear outlandish devices, and there is one attempt (*Otinel*, 300ff.) to describe a huge, elaborate shield, possibly a reminiscence of the shield of Aeneas.<sup>34</sup>

Professor Gilbert Murray, in his discussion of this question, cites two identical passages in the *Iliad* as proving the "inorganic" character of the verses referring to the corselet. These are the lines:<sup>35</sup>

διὰ μὲν ἀσπίδος ἦλθε φαεινῆς ὀβριμον ἔγχος,  
καὶ διὰ θώρακος πολυδαδείλου ἡρήριστο·  
ἀντικρὺ δὲ παρὰ λατάρην διάμνησε χιτῶνα  
ἔγχος· ὃ δ' ἐκλίθη καὶ ἐλείπετο κῆρα μέλαιναν.

which he translates as follows:

"Right through the shining shield the strong spear came  
(And drove heavily through the richly-wrought corselet)  
And straight on beside his flank it cut through his tunic.  
That spear did: but he twisted aside and escaped black death."

Murray says apropos of this:<sup>36</sup> "Without the bracketed line the sense is clear. But with it? Does not every reader feel some difference. You can twist aside from a spear that is coming through your shield, but not from one that has driven heavily through your breastplate." Ergo, to him, the "thorex-line"

<sup>33</sup> "After the coat of mail which he had worn in many a battle, he laced on some plates of steel over it."

<sup>34</sup> As to Virgilian and other classical reminiscences in the chansons, see Wilmotte, *Le Français a la tête épique*, 99ff.

<sup>35</sup> I, 358ff.; H, 252ff.

<sup>36</sup> See Murray, 177.

is an interpolation, as all "thorex-lines" are. Now as it happens we have an almost exact parallel to this passage, in a well-known scene of the Old French epos, the fight between William and the giant Saracen Corsolt in the *Couronnement de Louis* (lines 966-973):

Un dart molu a pris a son arçon,  
 Envers Guillelme le lança de randon,  
 Si bruit li cols come uns alerions.  
 Li cuens guenchi, qui dota le felon,  
 Porquant li trenche son escu a lion;  
 La vieille broigne ne li fist guarison,  
 Les le costé li passe a tel randon  
 Que d'autre part fiert dous piez el sablon.

which may be translated:

He (Corsolt) took a sharp dart from his saddle-bow;  
 Toward William he hurled it violently,  
 The cast shrilled like an eagle.  
 The Count, who feared the knave, twisted aside,  
 Natheless it cut through his lion-painted shield,  
 His old byrny saved him not,  
 Close to his flank it passed so violently  
 That on the other side it stuck two feet in the sand.

Here we find almost the same sequence of events as in Homer, save that the "twisting aside" is placed, more logically, before the piercing of the shield. The spear cuts through the shield and then the corselet, grazing the side of the hero; but he, like Alexander, "twisted aside and escaped black death." No one could possibly claim, however, that the byrny-line is here a late interpolation. Personally, I cannot feel any difficulty in either case. A similar passage occurs in *Jourdain de Blaye*, 1912-1918:

Brandist la hanste au fer tranchant molu  
 Et fiert Jordain au vermoil de l'escu,  
 Desoz la boucle li a fraint et fendu,  
 Le bon hauberc desmaillie et rompu.  
 Les le costel li passe le fer nu,  
 Dex le garist, qu'en char ne l'a feru.

"He brandished the lance-shaft with sharp cutting point and smote Jourdain on the red of his shield; under the boss he shattered and split it, rent and broke the good hauberk. Close to his flank he drives the bare iron. But God protected him, so

that he did not wound his flesh." Here no "twisting aside" is mentioned; the spear passes through shield and corselet, but God saves the hero. This seems to me more awkward than anything in Homer; but the awkwardness cannot be removed by excising the hauberk-line. Why should similar lines be considered interpolations in the *Iliad*?

Marriage settlements form another criterion for distinguishing early and late "strata" in Homer, according to some critics.<sup>87</sup> They allege that in primitive Greece men bought their wives for a price, while in the classical age the father gave a dowry with his daughter when she married. Most of the heroes seem to follow the older custom, paying bride-gifts for their wives; but there are some cases where a dowry provided by the bride's father is mentioned. A similar difference in marriage customs prevailed in medieval France, and is reflected in the epos; but the difference there was local, not temporal.<sup>88</sup> Some provinces, especially in the South, clung to the Roman "dos" system; others had adopted the Teutonic custom by which the husband dowered the wife. This gift was called the "douaire" or the "oscle." Most of the poems mention the latter custom. For example, Aymeri de Narbonne, when he took to wife Hermengarde, the Lombard king's daughter, is asked by his uncle to name her dowry. He answers:

Dist Aymeris: "Bien en ert asenée:  
Premierement soit Nerbone nommée,  
Et Biaulandois et Biaulande la lée,  
Car en doaire fu ma mere donée.  
Or resoit hui Hermenjart delivrée."<sup>89</sup>

"Said Aymeri: 'Well will she be dowered: First let Narbonne be named, and Beaulandais and Beaulande the wide, for that was given as dowry to my mother. Now let it be granted to Hermengarde.'" Here we see the bride receiving as her "douaire" the husband's mother's dowry, and in addition a city conquered by the latter. On the other hand, when King Louis

<sup>87</sup> Murray, 185ff., Caer, 286ff.

<sup>88</sup> See Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, 357ff., Viollet, *Histoire du droit civil français*, 826ff., 849ff.

<sup>89</sup> *Aymeri de Narbonne*, 4438ff.

gives his sister in marriage to Elie of Saint-Gilles, in the chanson of that name, he bestows on her as her "dot":

Asses castieus et fermetés  
Orliens et Behorges qu'est dame des chités.\*

"castles and strongholds in abundance, Orléans, and Bourges, the queen of cities." So likewise in *Amis et Amiles*, when Charlemagne gives his daughter Belissant to Amiles, he says to her:

Belissans bele, dex vos a fait aiue,  
Servez Amile com sa fame et sa drue.  
Riviers li doins, s'il devant moi vos jure,  
Ma grant cité desor l'eve de Dunne.<sup>a</sup>

"Fair Belissant, God hath helped you, serve Amile as his wife and his love. I give him Riviers, if he pledge you before me, my great city on the Dunne water." These customs are of course not quite the same as those of Homeric Greece. The "douaire" was not given to the bride's family, but to the bride herself, and remained hers in case of her husband's death. But the co-existence, both in history and epos, of these two customs should be sufficient to raise a doubt as to whether *ἱεῖνα* in Homer constitute a really archaic trait.

These analogies might be pursued further, but enough has been adduced, I think, to show how necessary it is to be cautious in discussing such data. A scholar intimately acquainted with the chansons, or with other medieval poetry, would find it very difficult to accept the possibility of cultural archaisms or archaizing in a "popular" epic; and by "popular" I mean one destined to appeal by public recitation to the people as a whole. In fact, far from retaining or introducing archaic traits, the chansons are remarkable for the tendency to introduce neologisms in customs or institutions. Each new poet, each "remanieur," never hesitates to mention a characteristic of his own time and to ascribe it boldly to the age of Charlemagne. I have already mentioned religious orders as one example of this. Another is the mention, frequent in the chansons after about 1150, of "bourgeois" and "communes." These, the

\* *Elie de Saint Gilles*, 2205ff.

<sup>a</sup> *Amis et Amiles*, 1756ff.

chartered free towns and their self-governing citizens, were first recognized as a definite social organization in Northern France in the first half of the twelfth century.\* We find allusions to them in a number of chansons, notably in the early and popular *Chevalerie Ogier* (3816-18):

Li bourgeois ont la grant cloque sonée  
E la petite tot d'une randonée  
E la comugne est tantost asanlée.

"The burgesses have rung the big bell and the little one, all in one peal, and the commune is assembled straightway." In *Orson de Beauvais* the burgesses of Beauvais play a considerable part. In regard to this, Gaston Paris says:† "Il y a certainement là un souvenir des interventions fréquentes du roi, au XII siècle, dans les démêlés des seigneurs avec les communes." In some of the later chansons the "bourgeois" are glorified at the expense of the nobles.

Another striking analogy in custom, though it does not contribute essentially to the "problem," is presented by the position taken by the minstrel,‡ the *doûés*, and by the allusions to songs and singing. One instance is found in the French epos of a hero, like Achilles in I, "taking his pleasure of a loud lyre . . . delighting his soul and singing the glories of heroes." This is found in *Renaut de Montauban*, 6459ff. Renaut and his three brothers are riding, unarmed, to meet the Emperor, who intends to seize them treacherously.

Aalars et Guichars commencerent un son,  
Gasconoïs fu li dis et limosins li ton  
Et Richars lor bordone belement par desos.  
Ainc rote ne viele ne nul psalterion  
Ne vos pletist si bien come li troi baron.

"Aalart and Guichart began a song, Gascon were the words, Limousin the melody, and Richard sings fairly the bass. Never rote, nor viol nor any psaltery would have delighted you so much

\* See especially A. Luchaire, *Les communes françaises à l'époque des Capétiens directs*, Paris, 1890.

† Introduction, p. LX.

‡ As to the "jongleurs" in general, see especially Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au moyen âge*, Paris, 1910.

as the three barons." But Renaut is troubled and anxious, whereat Aalart says to him:

Ahi, Renaus, car chantes, ja as tu si bel ton;  
Mult est longue la voie, si nos oblierom.

"Ah, Renaut, prithee sing, thou hast so fair a voice; long is the way, it will give us forgetfulness." We also find, in a "roman d'aventure," the *Roman de la Violette*, 1400-1405,<sup>46</sup> the hero Gerard, count of Nevers, disguised as a "jongleur," singing a stave of the chanson *Aliscans*:

Grans fu la cours en la sale a Loon.

But often the hero has a minstrel in his service, who occupies a position like that of Phemius or Demodocus in the *Odyssey*. Thus, William of Orange, in the *Chanson de Guillaume*, 1259ff., has a "jugleur":

En tote France n'at si bon chantetür  
Ne en bataille plus hardi fereür.  
Il li set dire de geste les chançons:  
De Clodoveu le premier roi Francur,  
Ki creoit primes en Deu nostre seignur,  
E de sun fiz Flovent le poigneür,  
De dulce France qui il laissat l'onur,  
De tuz les reis ki furent de valur  
Tresqu'a Pepin, le petit poigneür,  
De Charle Maigne, de Rollant sun nevou,  
E de Girart, e d'Olivier le prou.

"In all France there is none so good a singer, nor a bolder smiter in battle. He knoweth how to tell over the songs of geste: of Clovis the first king of the Franks to believe on God our Lord, and of his son, Floovant the warrior, to whom he left the honor of sweet France, of all the kings of worth, down to Pippin, the short warrior, of Charles the Great, of Roland his nephew, and of Girart and of Oliver the valiant." In moments of depression, the minstrel sings to the heroes, just as Phemius does. So in *Huon de Bordeaux*, 8438ff.:

Le menestrel apela Huelins:  
"Pren te viele, por Diu, biaux dos amis;

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<sup>46</sup> This passage is reprinted in Bartsch et Horning, *La langue et la littérature françaises*, 394.

Après tous deus se convient resjoïr;  
 Resbaudis nos, par amor je t'en pri." . . .  
 Li menestreus ne se vot arester;  
 Erraument a sa viele atempré,  
 A trente cordes fait se harpe soner,  
 Et li palais en tentist de tous les.

"Huon bade forth the minstrel: 'Take thy viol, fair sweet friend, for God's sake; after all woe it is meet to rejoice; delight us now, I pray thee, by thy love.' . . . The minstrel tarried not; straightway he tuned his viol and made the harp of thirty strings to twang, and the palace resounded round about."

But the most curious resemblance to Homeric usage in this connection occurs in the *Moniage Guillaume* I, 439ff.: William of Orange, who has retired to a monastery, is riding alone with a "vallet," who is also apparently a minstrel. He bids him sing.

Li vallés l'ot, prist soi a escrier,  
 Bien hautement commencha a chanter:  
 "Volés òir de dant Tibaut l'Escler,  
 Et de Guillaume, le marcis au cort nés,  
 Si com il prist Orenge la chité,  
 Et prist Orable a moillier et a per,  
 Et Gloriete, le palais principer?

"The varlet heard him, began to shout and sing: 'Will ye hear about lord Tybalt the heathen, and about William, the short-nosed lord, how he took Orange the city, and took Orable for wife and peer, and Gloriete the lordly palace?' " Does not this remind one of Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, singing, at Odysseus' behest, a song of his deeds at Troy? I believe that in both cases the poet has ascribed the customs of his own day to the men of the heroic age. The position and actions of the minstrels, as they appear in the chansons, are in all respects true to the conditions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whereas we have no positive evidence that they existed in the age of Charlemagne.

I turn now to the question of the historical character of the persons and events that appear in the epos. Here, as is well known, opinions of Homeric scholars diverge widely. Some believe that most of the heroes are of mythical origin, earlier tribal gods becoming men. Others affirm the essentially his-

torical character of the personages of the epos.<sup>46</sup> Students of the Old French epos are in this respect more fortunate than those of Homer. The historical records of the heroic age of France—covering roughly the reigns of Pippin, Charlemagne and Louis I—are numerous enough to enable us to test, to a certain degree, the accuracy of the legends. Here surprises await the incautious. The chansons have a specious air of true history, and purport of themselves to be such. The chanson form was indeed used in some cases for the writing of chronicles, either contemporaneous (*Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*, Garnier's *Vie de saint Thomas le Martyr*, Jordan Fantosme), or posterior and mixed with legendary elements (*Antioch, Jérusalem*, Cuvelier's *Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin*). Moreover, the legends recounted in the chansons were generally regarded, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as veracious history. The clerical chroniclers frequently give them a Latin form, or incorporate them in their records.<sup>47</sup> In the forged charters of the monasteries the names of the epic heroes appear as witnesses.<sup>48</sup> But appearances are deceptive. The stories told in the poems are mostly fiction, due, it seems, to the free creative imagination of the "jongleurs" working on a few names and events supplied by local tradition or by the clergy. Let us see now about how much "Wahrheit" there may be in the "Dichtung" of the French epic poets.

Out of the thousands of characters in the different chansons, M. Bédier has shown that fifty-five only can be positively identified with real persons of the heroic age.<sup>49</sup> But a majority of these are unimportant, playing a minor rôle in the legends. Of the chief heroes some twenty are historic; that is, they bear historic names. But how little does the epos know of the real career of the men it celebrates! What, for example, does it know of Pippin, save that he was father of Charlemagne and husband of a Bertha? What does it know of Roland, save that he was killed at Roncesvaux? Of William, save that he had a wife called Guibourc, fought with the Saracens and died in a monas-

<sup>46</sup> Especially W. Leaf; the chief upholders of the mythical theory are Bethe and Thomson.

<sup>47</sup> See Bédier, IV, 419-20.

<sup>48</sup> See Bédier, IV, 421-24.

<sup>49</sup> See Bédier, IV, 347ff.



tery? Of Louis the Pious, save that he was crowned at Aix during his father's lifetime? Of Girard "of Roussillon," save that he fought against a king named Charles and was a patron of the monasteries of Vézelay and Pothières? Charlemagne is naturally better known, but it would be totally impossible to reconstruct, from the data in the epos, a biography even remotely resembling that of Charles the Great. His character is not consistently drawn, and his deeds are mostly imaginary.

Let us take one of the minor figures. A personage who appears in many poems is Richard "li Vieuz" of Normandy,<sup>40</sup> without doubt identical with Richard I (†996). All that the poets know of him is that he was duke of Normandy and that he built the abbey of Fécamp. But they make him a contemporary of Charlemagne and give him a rôle not only inconsistent with history but with their own data. Thus, in the *Couronnement de Louis* <sup>41</sup> Richard dies in prison at Orléans under Louis I; in the *Roland* <sup>42</sup> he is killed, years before, in Spain by the Emir Baligant; in the *Chevalerie Ogier* <sup>43</sup> he is slain, still earlier, by King Désier in Italy; which does not prevent the author of *Gormont et Isembart* <sup>44</sup> from having him killed by Gormont at Cayeux. Suppose that we had no information about Richard of Normandy save what the chansons tell us, could we reconstruct his biography? Could we even tell when he lived? Yet his case seems to me quite the same as that of Glaucus or Idomeneus or Aias the Lesser, or other secondary figures in the Greek epos. For all the poets knew, Richard was just as real or as unreal as Naimes of Bavaria or Oliver or Bertrand "li Palazins" or numberless other secondary personages who have never lived outside the epos. If the records had disappeared, we simply could not tell which heroes are "historic," which are purely imaginary.

It should be noted that in no case in France do we find mythological figures becoming heroes. A few such figures are introduced into the chansons, such as Auberon the king of

<sup>40</sup> See Bédier, IV, 3-18.

<sup>41</sup> *Couronnement de Louis*, 2218-21.

<sup>42</sup> *Chanson de Roland*, 3470ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Chevalerie Ogier*, 5409ff.

<sup>44</sup> *Gormont et Isembart*, 140ff.

"faery" in *Huon de Bordeaux*, Malabron the "lutin" in *Gaufrey*, Wayland the Smith, as well as Gabriel, Michael and other Christian divinities. But they are always carefully distinguished from the heroes, who have nothing in common with them. Sometimes, as we shall see, the heroes become saints after death; but saints and divinities never become heroes. To a student of the French epos, the theories of Bethe, Thomson<sup>55</sup> and others, making Agamemnon and Achilles tribal gods and Penelope a divine waterfowl, seem unconvincing.

In fact, none of the warriors sung in the chansons is a tribal hero. At the time the "jongleurs" wrote, all tribal consciousness had been lost in the unity of Christian Europe. National consciousness—the pride of "la douce France" and the French name—does exist. It is asserted especially against the Saracen, the common enemy, as also against "Thiois et Lombartz," who are more or less despised. Another sort of race feeling, which we might expect to show itself—provincial patriotism<sup>56</sup>—hardly appears either. The French provinces were all constituted under their local dynasties at the time of epic production, but there is little provincial feeling apparent in the chansons. A favorite theme is the revolt of a great noble against the King, but this noble, Girart, Renaut, Ogier or another, is not represented as the embodiment of local or provincial patriotism. Moreover, "Sagenverschiebung," if we care to call it that, does occur, but is not, as far as we can see, due to tribal migration. Thus William "of Orange," historically a Frank of the North and a cousin of Charlemagne, is always represented as a member of the family of Narbonne. This is hardly significant. The heroes, Roland, Girart, Ogier, William, are consistently represented as feudal lords, rulers over many vassals, all subject to one overlord Charlemagne, and all engaged in a struggle against an Eastern foe, the Saracens. Conditions may have been different in Greece, where tribal feeling was undoubtedly stronger than in feudal France. But after all, are not Achilles, Odysseus, Aias, Diomedes, likewise feudal lords, rulers over many vassals, all subject to one overlord, Agamemnon, and all engaged in a struggle against an Eastern foe?

<sup>55</sup> See especially Thomson, *Studies in the Odyssey*, chaps. 1, 2, 3.

<sup>56</sup> One apparent exception is *Gaydon*, which celebrates the Angevins and the dukes of Anjou.

Another interesting comparison with the Greek epos is supplied by the discovery of M. Bédier that in most cases the heroes and their exploits, so far as they are historical at all, are localized, and that this localization is connected with a church, a shrine or a pilgrimage route.<sup>57</sup> There existed formerly at least twenty-eight churches containing thirty-six tombs or shrines of persons who were important figures in the chansons. Twenty other churches could be named which preserved or helped to propagate legends about these heroes. And these churches or shrines were among the most important in Christian Europe, frequented by throngs of pious pilgrims. They included such well-known places of devotion as Saint James of Compostella, Saint Denis of France, Saint Peter's of Cologne, or such great abbeys as Gellone, Saint-Riquier, Fécamp, Stavelot and Vézelay. In many cases, the heroes were regarded as founders or patrons; their relics were venerated; in two instances at least they became saints and were worshipped as such. Nor did popular piety make any distinction between real and imaginary heroes. In the church of St. Romain at Blaye was shown the tomb of Roland (possibly authentic), as well as the tombs of Oliver and Fair Alda (who certainly never existed). In the abbey of Gellone (Hérault) was the shrine of Saint William, central figure of a whole cycle of legends and a historical figure. At Cologne and Dortmund were shrines of "Saint" Renaut, likewise the central figure of a cycle of legends, but by no means historical. The analogy between these shrines of sainted heroes in medieval Europe and the shrines of "divine" heroes in ancient Greece is certainly striking.

One of the most remarkable instances of this process is that of the shrine of Ogier in the abbey of Saint Faro at Meaux.<sup>58</sup> The monks of Saint Faro, in the tenth century, venerated as one of their founders a certain Othgerius, about whom they composed a short legend, the *Conversio Othgerii militis*. In this they represent Othgerius as an illustrious warrior who retired to their convent, persuaded Charlemagne to make them some valuable gifts, and died there "in the odor of sanctity." It cannot be proved that this Othgerius is historical, or that he

<sup>57</sup> See Bédier, IV, 403ff.

<sup>58</sup> See Bédier, II, 288ff.

had at first any connection with "Ogier li Danois," the epic hero. But when the latter had become celebrated, in the twelfth century, the identification was made; and about 1170 the monks of Saint Faro erected in honor of their hero a splendid chapel and monument, with mortuary statues of Ogier and his squire, and around them, under the vault of the chapel, six other figures from the chansons, Oliver, Roland, Alda, Turpin and others. Greek scholars have pointed out the possibility of ἡρώα of Agamemnon, Achilles or Helen replacing earlier shrines of autochthonic gods or goddesses. Is not the case of Ogier at Meaux a similar phenomenon?

Another point to be noticed in this connection is the relation that the epics themselves bear to the shrines, pilgrimages and festivals. M. Bédier has proved that the majority of the older and better chansons were probably composed for the delectation and instruction of the throngs of pilgrims who frequented the sanctuaries and the routes that led to them. Notably the *Chanson de Roland*<sup>88</sup> is localized on the "camino francés," the road to Compostella; and relics of the hero were shown in the churches along this route. In Bordeaux, for instance, an important station on the way, the ivory horn "olifant," given by Charlemagne after Roland's death to the church of Saint Seurin, was shown to the pilgrims, as is mentioned in the *Chanson*, 3684ff.:

Vint a Burdeles, la citet de valur,  
Desur l'alter Saint Seurin le barun  
Met l'oliphan plein d'or et de manguns;  
Li pelerin le veient qui la vunt.

"He (Charlemagne) came to Bordeaux, the city of worth; on the altar of the noble Saint Seurin he placed the olifant, full of gold and coin; the pilgrims who go that way still see it."

Moreover, it is certain that at least two chansons, the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* and *Fierabras*,<sup>89</sup> were composed for the festival called the "Lendit," held at Saint-Denis in June every year. This festival was instituted in 1109. Do not these facts recall what little we know as to the early history of the Homeric poems? They also celebrated heroes closely associated with

<sup>88</sup> See Bédier, III, 291ff.

<sup>89</sup> See Bédier, IV, 121ff.

old shrines; they also were sung at public festivals, the Panionia and the Panathenaia, which attracted great crowds of worshippers. Who knows but that at some period there may not have existed that sort of collaboration between priest and "aoidos" which certainly prevailed between "clerc" and "jongleur," and to which most of the "historical elements" in the French epos are due. Of course, all this is analogical conjecture, without evidential value.

In one or two particular instances of historic usage, other analogies could be adduced. I shall choose only one, the geographical name *Argos*.<sup>61</sup> Homer employs this word in at least four different meanings. It denotes: 1, simply the city; 2, the whole Argolic plain, especially as the home of Agamemnon; 3, Southern Greece, the Peloponnesus; 4, Greece as a whole, both north and south. I leave to Greek scholars the explanation of this, but call attention to the fact that in the chansons the name *France* is used likewise with a threefold meaning, due to historic causes. It denotes—<sup>62</sup>

1. All of Charlemagne's empire, in the widest sense, including German towns like Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle; for example, *Moniage Guillaume II*, 4234:

France prendrons jusc'as pors de Coloigne.

*Chanson de Roland*, 36:

En France 'ad Ais s'en deit bien repaier.

2. It means the later "regnum francorum" of the Capetian kings; for example, *Girart de Roussillon*, §320: "C'est d'une fière bataille que je vous parle, dont France et Allemagne furent dépeuplées."

*Huon de Bordeaux*, 2362:

Mais ne retourt en France le regné.

3. It is used, more rarely, to connote the Ile-de-France, the scanty "royal domain" of the same Capetian kings. For ex-

<sup>61</sup> See Leaf, *Homer and History*, 193ff.

<sup>62</sup> See especially Hoefft, *France, Francois und Franc im Rolandslied*, Strassburg, 1891.

ample, *Raoul de Cambrai*, 6150, Guerri, speaking at Arras, says:

Alons en France a bataille rengie.

*Les Narbonnais*, 1847ff., the sons of Aymeri are riding from the south:

Par mi Berri a force et a bandon  
Vont' chevauchant a coite d'esperon;  
A Orlens vindrent, si passerent le pont,  
Lors entrèrent en France.

"Through Berri swiftly and strongly they go spurring as they ride; they came to Orléans and passed the bridge, then they entered France." To the poets of the twelfth century the connotations 2 and 3 were familiar, in daily use among their contemporaries; the broad meaning 1 was a matter of historical knowledge, more or less vague, of Charlemagne's empire.

In addition to the comparisons already mentioned, the chansons also contain considerable material for investigation of the methods and processes used in a period of epic production, and enable us to test, in some cases, the validity of internal evidence in questions of composition.<sup>68</sup> Owing to the general instability of their text and to the fact that no poet, scribe or minstrel ever felt obliged to reproduce his original without variation, we find sometimes several different poetic versions of the same epic legend. Early poems are often revised, interpolated, extended, abridged, or altogether rewritten. The most frequent cause of alterations of this nature was a change in metrical form. The early poems were written, for the most part, in ten- or twelve-syllabled verses, united into stanzas or "laisses" of varying length by assonance. A later fashion demanded full rime in place of assonance, and many poems were revised to introduce it. Other causes for change were involved in the desire to fit the poem into a cycle, or to please a new audience, or simply to tell the story in a different way. Expansion is more common than abridgement; and interpolation "in mediis rebus" is less usual than extension or revision at the beginning or the end of the poem. I intend now to cite some examples of these various alterations, taking care to choose such cases as present some

<sup>68</sup> See Cauer, 371ff.

analogy to those cited by Homeric critics as possibly occurring in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*.

First of all, the general tendency of the "remanieurs" is to make two verses grow where only one grew before. This is especially the case when assonance is turned into rime, but it also occurs where both versions had the same verse structure.<sup>44</sup> For example, our oldest version of the *Chanson de Roland*, contained in the Oxford manuscript *Digby 23*, is written in assonant ten-syllabled lines. Later rehandled texts introduce full rime, often by expanding a single verse to two or more. This is the way it is done:

Oxford, 3679	Muntet li reis e si hume trestuit
MS of Versailles	Monte li rois, o lui ses vavasors
	Ogiers et Naima et Jofrois l'amoros.
Oxford, 157	Bels fu li vespres e li soleils fut clers
Versailles	Biaus fu li jors, si prist a decliner
	Et li solaus si prist a esconser.

But in many cases this expansion is not dictated by the necessity of finding a rime. For example, take the passage *Huon de Bordeaux*, 2931ff.:

Tant ont ensanle le droit cemin erré  
K'en un boscaige ont un homme trové,  
La barbe ot longue desqu'an neu del baudré.

"So far have they together wandered along the straight way that in a wood they have found a man, who had a long beard reaching to the knot of his baldrick." Here MS b adds, uselessly:

Qui fu si fais com vous dire m'orrés:  
Viez fu et fraile, si ot cent ans pasés.

"Who was formed as you will hear me tell: Old he was and frail, had passed his hundredth year."

So in the *Chevalerie Vivien*, 696:

Dist Vivien: "Ensin en est alei.  
A nos parens fust tox jorz reprové.

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<sup>44</sup> See especially Gautier, *Epopées*, I, 420ff.

"Said Vivien: 'Thus hath it gone. (Otherwise) it would have been always a matter of shame to our kindred.'" MSS A and B add the synonymous line:

Tenu nos fust toz jorz mes a vilté.

"Always it would have been imputed unto us as cowardice."

Ibid. 1096, Gerard comes to William and says:

En non Deu, sire, vos ne me ravisés?  
Je suis vos nies, Gerars suis apellés.

To which MSS AB add the following line with genealogical information, of interest to us, but no news to William:

Filz sui Buevon et de Commarchis nez.

Is it not entirely possible that many "inorganic" lines in the Homeric poems, especially such as were rejected by the Alexandrian critics, may be due to the same process of expansion by copyists, such as, for example, A 139, B 528, N 256, N 350, λ 52-54, and many others.

Sometimes however the copyist abridged instead of expanding, even to a point hurtful to the sense. For example, in *Gaydon*, 4512ff. The youth Savari escapes from his wicked father and rows across a stream:

Tant a nagié li enfes son travel  
Qu'arrivez est desoz un arbrissel.

"So far hath the youth rowed his bark that he hath arrived beneath a sapling." Then the next *laisse* begins immediately:

Savaris monte par desor Ataignant

"Savari mounts on Ataignant," without our being told who Ataignant is or where he was found. MS b adds, before the second *laisse*:

Vint a l'estable la ou sont li poutrel,  
Sor Ataignant le bon cheval isnel  
A mis la sele et le fraig a noel,  
Puis est montés par l'estrier a noel.

"He came to the stable where the colts are; on Ataignant the good swift horse he put the saddle and graven bridle, and then mounted by the carved stirrup." These verses are necessary to



the sense and were evidently in the original, but MS a has dropped them. In the *Couronnement de Louis*, 590ff., all the manuscripts save one read (the Pope is addressing William of Orange):

"Ahi," dit il, "nobles chevaliers,  
Cil te guarisse qui en croiz fu dreciez!  
Tel hardement ne dist mais chevaliers.  
Ou que tu ailles, Jesus te puisse aidier!"

"Ah," said he, "noble knight, may He save you who was raised on the cross! Never did knight utter such a bold saying. Wherever you go, may Jesus aid you!"

The MS C omits the second and third lines of this passage. They are not indispensable, but the text certainly runs more smoothly with them. It would of course require a very skilled analyst to determine where similar contractions or omissions have occurred in the text of Homer.

These are matters however which concern textual criticism rather than the problem of composition. But the alterations in the chansons often go much farther. A number of lines may be put into one *laisse*, or one or more *laises* may be interpolated. As a rule, such interpolations do not contribute much to the action. Some are typical of the minstrel profession. So, for example, in *Aliscans*, after line 4579 two manuscripts insert a passage of 44 lines, in which the "jongleur" interrupts the narrative to make an appeal to the generosity of his hearers.<sup>65</sup> This may be compared, roughly, to the so-called "Rhapsoden-zusaetze"<sup>66</sup> in Homer, as in II 102-112, Y 495-504. In *Gui de Bourgogne*, 191ff., a passage of 37 verses in one *laisse* is expanded in one manuscript into 166 verses divided among four *laises*. This interpolation contains a catalogue of the young heroes of the story, and so resembles, on a small scale, the catalogues in Homer.

A favorite stylistic device of the French poets, as well as the Homeric rhapsodes, was repetition or parallelism. Of course, in most cases, this was due to the original composer of the epic, and is no proof of late or composite authorship. But in some

<sup>65</sup> A device employed in the original version of *Huon de Bordeaux*, 4958ff., *Gui de Bourgogne*, 4135ff., and elsewhere.

<sup>66</sup> See Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, 87, 94ff., etc.

cases, as the codices show, the "remanieurs" insert passages of varying length repeating with some change of wording what had gone before. A good example of this, on a small scale, is found in *Huon de Bordeaux*, 416ff. The two sons of the Duchess of Bordeaux have been summoned to court by messengers and are about to set out. Their mother gives them much good advice at parting, especially urging them to be generous toward the envoys of the King.

"Et si prendés ces dous frans messagiers,  
Pour palefrois lor donés grans destriers,  
Et pour lor capes bons mantiax entailliés,  
Et a chascun cent livres de deniers."

"And take these two free-born messengers, give them great war-horses for their palfreys, good slashed mantles for their capes, and unto each a hundred pounds in coin."

Here the older MSS end the speech and the youths ride away:

Cil s'en repairent baut et joiant et lié,  
Desc'a Paris n'i ot regne tiré.

"They fare forth, bold and joyous and glad; nor did they draw rein till they reached Paris."

But one manuscript adds, after the mother's speech, a repetition quite in the taste of the time:

"Dame," dist Hues, "de gré et volentiers."  
Ainsi a fait les mes aparillier:  
Pour palefrois lor dona bon destrier,  
Et pour lor capes bons mantiax entailliés,  
Et a cascun cent livres de deniers.

"'Lady,' quoth Huon, 'gladly and willingly.' So he had the messengers guerdoned: for palfrey he gave them a good war-horse, and for their capes good slashed mantels, and unto each a hundred pounds in coin."

A longer interpolation of the same nature occurs in the rimed versions of the *Chanson de Roland*, after line 1482 of the Oxford version. At the beginning of the second battle in Roncesvaux, the archbishop Turpin exhorts the Christian warriors to fight boldly and to die as martyrs, whereat the French take heart and the fight begins. At this point the later versions insert three *laisses* in which Turpin repeats his exhortation in parallel stan-

zas with change of rime. Do not such parallelistic interpolations resemble the "Doppelfassungen" <sup>67</sup> often pointed out in the Homeric poems, such as, for example, P 723-736 compared with P 737-746, or  $\beta$  214-223 compared with  $\alpha$  281-292?

Interpolation of long passages in the chansons is less common, but more interesting, especially in cases where the passage interpolated is borrowed from, or suggested by, another epic. Thus the conclusion of *Hervi de Metz*, of 71 lines in the original version, is expanded to 1531 lines in two manuscripts, largely to effect a closer connection with the older poem, *Les Lorrains*, from which are borrowed directly several long passages. A redactor of the poem *Gerbert de Metz* has added to it, in one manuscript, a long episode which is really an adaptation, in 784 lines, of the entirely independent epic *Raoul de Cambrai*. This addition is designed to connect Raoul with the family of Gerbert. But the most interesting case of this kind is undoubtedly the interpolation found in MS Venice IV of the *Chanson de Roland*. This MS (14th century, in "Franco-Italian" dialect) contains up to the return of Charlemagne after the revenge for Roncesvaux a text quite similar to that of the Oxford version. At this point however it adds a long narrative of the siege and capture of Narbonne; after which it resumes the narrative found in the other versions. Now this interpolated episode is in substance a shortened and altered version of the chanson *Aymeri de Narbonne*. In view of the suggestion frequently made that the Homeric poems may contain parts or wholes of earlier independent epics, the *Doloneia* in K or the *Nestoris* in A for instance, these proceedings of the Old French redactors present considerable interest. <sup>68</sup> But it must be added that such passages are uncommon in the chansons. Long interpolations affecting the development of the narrative are rare. And we never find an example in Old French of a poem made up—patchwork fashion—of a number of earlier and shorter lays or epics. When a new poet wished to compose a personal version of an older song, he generally rewrote it entirely.

From the earliest times the chansons know and cite one

<sup>67</sup> See Wilamowitz, 13, 29, 152, 220, etc.

<sup>68</sup> See Wilamowitz, 61ff., Murray, 201ff., and especially Muelder, *Die Ilias und ihre Quellen*, Berlin, 1910.

another, and many of the later ones are made up of motifs, characters, situations, speeches and lines borrowed from the earlier. The later poets presuppose constantly that their hearers (or readers) possess a knowledge of the old stories. These references to other epic legends are generally inserted by the poet himself into the narrative. So in *Gui de Nanteuil*, 7ff., we are told that Berengier, the "villain" of the story,

si fu nierz Guenelon,  
Celui qui de Rollant fist la grant traïson,  
Qu'il vendi, comme fel, au roy Marcilion,  
Dont furent mort a glesve li doze compengnon.

"was the nephew of Ganelon, the man who did the great treason of Roland, whom he sold, the knave, to King Marsile, wherefore the twelve comrades died by the sword," a clear allusion to the *Chanson de Roland*. In the *Chanson d'Antioch* (8, vss. 868ff.) the author refers to three well-known chansons (*Roland*, *Aspremont*, *Aliscans*) when he says:

Les grans peines qu'en ot Oliviers ne Rollans  
Ne celes que souffri Iaumons ne Agolans,  
Ne li ber Vivians quant fu en Aliscans,  
Ne valut a cestui le pris de troi besans.

"The great woes that Roland and Oliver endured, and those which Eaumont and Agolant suffered, and the hero Vivien in Aliscans, were counted far less than this (the woe of the Crusaders at Antioch)."

In the very late chanson, *Hugues Capet*, there is an unmistakable reference to one of the earliest, *Gormont et Isembart*. Or again, in *Renaut de Montauban*, there is an allusion to Girart de Roussillon, interesting because it does not agree exactly with the story told in the chanson of that name. Similarly in Homer we find references made by the poet himself to other epic legends, for example, Od. 15, 225ff., story of Melampus, Il. 2, 628ff., story of Phyleus.

On the other hand, references to other legends put into the mouths of the heroes are less common in the chansons than in Homer. Some examples are found however. In *Jourdain de Blaye* (1426ff.) the hero Jourdain speaks of his grandfather

Ami, summarizing the story of the earlier chanson *Amis et Amiles*, exactly as Glaukos speaks of his grandfather Bellerophon in Iliad Z.

Mis aieuls fu Amis li bons guerriers  
 Qu'ocist Hardré le cuivert renoié  
 En la bataille por Amile le fier,  
 Por Belissant qui ot le cuer legier  
 Fille Charlon le fort roi droiturier.

"My grandfather was Ami the good warrior, who slew Hardré, the base renegade, in fight in behalf of the proud Amile for Belissant's sake, the light-hearted daughter of Charles, the strong and righteous king." So, Charlemagne, in the beginning of the chanson, *Huon de Bordeaux*, sums up, apropos of his son Charlot, the story of the *Chevalerie Ogier*, very much as Nestor, in Iliad A 670ff., recounts the deeds of his youth.

Direct borrowings, of one chanson from another, are not uncommon, though it is impossible here to cite more than one or two examples. They begin very early. The author of the *Chanson de Guillaume* has borrowed the motif of the "belles mains" from the *Roland*. *Antioch*, the *Couronnement de Louis* and *Aliscans* "lift" a comparison from the *Roland*, just as we may suppose that the rhapsodes constantly "lifted" similes one from the other.<sup>99</sup> As for the more extensive borrowings in the later chansons, I can only refer to what is said by the editors of the poems in their introductions.<sup>100</sup>

While the chansons de geste thus give evidence that epic poets indulge freely in borrowings and that they do not hesitate to make changes of all kinds, they do not show that an epic is ever constructed out of detached lays or ballads, nor yet made up by the amalgamation of several earlier ones. They also show that it is difficult to detect late and early parts, additions or interpolations, by internal evidence alone. We have seen that such increments do exist in numbers, but if we did not have the manuscripts it is doubtful if their existence could be proved. Some of the tests used by critics seem from this point of view

<sup>99</sup> See Murray, 208ff.

<sup>100</sup> See especially Stimming, *Introd. to his edition of Boeve de Haumtone*, pp. CLXXXIX ff., G. Paris, *Introd. to Orson de Beauvais*, LV ff., Suchier, *Introd. to Les Narbonnais*, LVI ff.

fallacious. Contradictions, incoherencies and improbabilities, such as have been pointed out in Homer as proof of composite structure, are found in abundance in the chansons in parts where multiple composition can hardly have existed. Slight contradictions in successive passages, such as have been cited as occurring,<sup>11</sup> e. g. Z 448 as compared with 476ff., I 308ff. and 630ff., A 366 and 392, are not uncommon in the chansons and frequently more glaring than anything in Homer. A striking example—change of name—is found in *Huon de Bordeaux*, where Huon's renegade uncle is called first (l. 3881) Guillaume, but becomes (3964) Oedes. In *Gaufrey* we find (p. 180) a "roi de Turfanie" who becomes, two pages farther on, "roi de Piconie." In *Aspremont* (3314) a company of "nos François" is said to number 4000, fourteen lines farther the same band is said to contain 3000. The most striking contradiction of all, the reappearance of a hero killed in a previous fight (as Pylaimenes, killed by Menelaos, E 578 f., turns up alive in N 658) occurs in at least three chansons: namely, in *Elie de Saint-Gilles*, where Corsaut de Tabarie, killed v. 341, reappears alive v. 2428; in *Aye d'Avignon*, where the traitor Auboin is slain v. 736, but resumes his plottings v. 2721; in *Les Narbonnais*, where Gautier le Tolosant, killed v. 7560, reappears v. 7993. Epic minstrels, in works intended to be sung or recited publicly in sections, lay no great stress on consistency or probability. Offenses against either passed unnoticed by their hearers.

Another feature of Homeric style, often adduced as a proof of multiple composition, repetition of messages verbatim, is found constantly in all the chansons, from the earlier (for example, *Chanson de Guillaume*, 636-689, Vivien's summons to William, repeated almost textually by the messenger Girart, 979-1003) to the latest (for example, *Hervi de Metz*, 6415ff., repeated with slight changes 6446ff.). This stylistic peculiarity seems to be natural to such productions, affording no evidence as to authorship.

Repetition of one or several lines, or of whole passages, often noticed in Homer and frequently cited as proof of copying by the "diasceuaists," is also frequent in the chansons, in parts where there is not the slightest evidence of rehandling or addi-

<sup>11</sup> See Caer, 398ff.

tion by the copyists or redactors. Of this I shall cite examples taken from only one chanson, which shows no trace of being treated by "remanieurs," the *Mort Garin*. Here, for instance, we find line 2559

li fers fu chaus, ne pot l'acier sofrir,

repeated, line 3311,

chaus fu li fers, ne pot l'acier sofrir.

Ibid., lines 2635-36,

Tant mar i fustes, frans chevaliers jentis;  
Qui vos a mort, il n'est pas mes amis,

are repeated textually, lines 3364-65, and with a slight variant, lines 4796-97:

Tant mar i fustes, frans chevaliers gentis,  
Car vos estiez mes pers et mes amis.

Similarity in situation or in emotion seems to produce similarity in expression, just as with Homer.

Repetition in incident or in motif, frequently objected to in Homer, recurs likewise in the chansons, in passages where no evidence of reworking is otherwise visible. The double council of the gods in *Odyssey* α and ε finds a parallel in the double council of the monks of Aniane in the *Moniage Guillaume II*, 316-343 and 406-439. The three casts at *Odysseus*<sup>13</sup> (ρ 462ff., σ 395 ff., υ 301 ff., can be compared to the three adjurations of Oliver in the *Chanson de Roland* (1049ff., 1059ff., 1070ff.). Many more resemblances of this kind could be cited.

Such analytical criticism as the Homeric poems have been subjected to has been applied to several of the chansons, with much the same results. By means of internal discrepancies, lack of motivation, and similar criteria, critics have endeavored to distinguish old and new parts. Hardly ever did any two of these "chorizontes" agree, and since the appearance of M. Bédier's work, they have largely given up this pastime. In one case at least we are able to test their conclusions. The *Chevalerie Vivien* and *Aliscans* were long known to form a single epic, in which appeared many discrepancies and difficulties. The

<sup>13</sup> See Cauer, 490ff.

critics exercised themselves on these, constructing hypothetically the original version of the legend. Then in 1903 came the discovery of the *Chanson de Guillaume*, an authentic "original" version. It confirmed few if any of the results which the critics had reached by internal evidence, presenting in fact a version of the first part of the story which had been entirely unsuspected. It also showed that in some cases the older versions were ruder, more careless and incoherent, than the later, some of the geographical and other difficulties that appear in the *Guillaume* being smoothed away in the later forms. Such a case as this is instructive. When Homeric scholars attempt to show by analytical criticism, as for instance Wilamowitz does,<sup>78</sup> just what parts of the *Iliad* were written by Homer, what parts he took from earlier sources, what parts were added by later editors, the student of the chansons can only envy his certainty. The latter poems prove the fact of epic reworkings, interpolations and changes, but they do not afford us any criteria for distinguishing them.

The progress of epic composition, as it went on in medieval France, can be well illustrated by comparing the three forms of the legend of Vivien, to which I have alluded before. The earliest of the three, the *Chanson de Guillaume*, is a poem of 3557 lines, composed early in the twelfth century if not before, not distinguished by a coherent plot or faultless narrative, but containing many superb single scenes and episodes. This was rewritten and expanded by a later poet, of about 1180, into two connected poems, the *Chevalerie Vivien* and *Aliscans*, of 1949 and 8570 lines respectively. In these the sequence of events of the *Guillaume* is preserved, some scattered lines of the original form appearing here and there. The narratives and speeches are lengthened, some new traits are introduced and the geography is altered. A little later, about 1200, a poet of Dammartin-sur-Aube, Herbert le Duc, took many of the characters and the opening scenes of *Aliscans* for the foundation of a new chanson, into which he introduced, following the taste of the time, some new "romantic" elements, and made some important stylistic changes. This version, *Fouques de Candie*, of 18,000 lines, was much admired in courtly circles. It pre-

<sup>78</sup> See especially Wilamowitz' analysis of the *Iliad*, 512ff.



serves many of the persons, some situations and motifs, of the earlier versions, but is otherwise an original creation. I have sometimes imagined that an original *Achilleis* may have been expanded and rewritten, by a poet of far greater genius than Herbert le Duc, in much the same fashion.

In conclusion, it may be said that I do not insist on the evidential value of any of these parallels. "Analogies do not run on all fours." Our knowledge of medieval France, the scene of a great religious, social and literary development, is extensive, though incomplete. Our knowledge of pre-classical Greece, especially Ionia, likewise the scene of a great philosophical and artistic development, is only fragmentary. The conditions that surrounded the birth of the epos in the two cases may have been totally different. Nevertheless, the manners and morals of the epic heroes, the motifs and structure of the poems, are so similar that I believe that some importance can be ascribed to these comparisons. Classical scholars must take them for what they are worth. Accepting the chansons as representative epics, however, their answer to the problem of origins is, I think, clear and unmistakable. They are not the result of a long evolution, but arise with comparative suddenness when the social and cultural conditions are ripe, in a period of creative intellectual activity. They then undergo a process of rehandling, copying and alteration, which may last several centuries. Different strata of cultural evolution cannot be distinguished in them individually. They are supposedly true narratives relating to a distant and heroic past, but the figures and costumes of that past are conceived in terms of the present; the heroes dress, act and talk like the poet's contemporaries. The little true history in the poem cannot be distinguished from the fiction. It is rarely if ever possible to detect rehandling by internal evidence alone. So much, I think, the chansons reveal in regard to their own origins.

A final difference between the Old French and the Greek epos has thus far been mentioned only indirectly, and that is the fact that France produced no literary masterpiece. Doubtless, the *Roland*, the *Guillaume*, the *Girart* and a few other chansons are marked by a stern beauty of thought and expression worthy of all praise. But they have never been cherished by their own people, nor accepted by later literary sentiment, as the *Iliad*

and Odyssey have. Some scholars, like the late Gaston Paris, have explained this difference as due to the greater creative genius of the Greek mind. But if we consider what was actually accomplished along other lines of creative activity in medieval France, if we think of the crusades, the communes, the schools of philosophy, above all of the marvellous and original art of the great cathedrals, we can hardly doubt that creative genius was as abundant in twelfth-century France as in Homeric Greece. Simply, it did not take a literary form. The genius of Homer, or whoever the poet or poets were who created the Iliad and Odyssey, doubtless with much use of preexisting material, as we have seen that the chanson poets created their epos,—that is the main explanation of this difference. To mark the character of that genius, to show by analogy how it developed and worked, that, it seems to me, is the chief contribution of the chansons to the study of the Homeric poems.

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W. P. SHEPARD.

HAMILTON COLLEGE,  
 CLINTON, N. Y.

## II.—THE JUDAS CURSE.

A recent article in this Journal discusses a very formal type of oath, termed by the writer the Judas Iscariot curse.<sup>1</sup> This oath has, however, a very much wider distribution than is there indicated. It consists, in its briefest form, of the wish that the wrong-doer should share the lot of Judas ("habeat portionem cum Iuda"); but, according to the mood of the user, this simple form may be much expanded by allusion to the great sinners of the Bible from Cain to Ananias and Sapphira. Amplified in this fashion, the Judas Iscariot curse becomes a terrifying anathema which can still be increased in effectiveness by hints of what its violator may expect at the Day of Judgment. Yet one suspects that the mediaeval listener to the oath often gave a more attentive ear to the threat of a fine, which the breaking of the oath incurred, than to its appalling phrases. Other imprecations were certainly felt to be more powerful, whereas the Judas curse remained a "formula anathematis minoris."<sup>2</sup> This fact appears plainly in an old German Chronicle where the Judas curse is the first and least of a long list of penalties arranged climactically. I extract a passage from the chapter in question (which is itself a single sentence extending over one and a third columns folio):

. . . vnd also soliche uorhorunge gescheen was, so fant sich kuntlich in denselben bullen vnd processen, das derselbe Friderich von dem egenanten consilium dise nachgeschribenn pene anathematis, das man in deutsche sprache nennet *Judas fluch*, dornach in die pene des grossen bannes, in latin genant *sacrilege*, dornach in die pene der berawunge

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<sup>1</sup>H. Martin, "The Judas Iscariot Curse," *supra*, XXXVII (1916), 434-451. John Aubrey, the seventeenth-century gossip and antiquarian, was, so far as I know, the first to show any sign of curious interest in the Judas curse. One of his notes reads: "In the grants to the Church by the Saxon King you may see in the Monasticon Angl. many direfull imprecations, as let them that . . . be thrown into the abyss, and let their portione be with Judas Iscariot, &c."—*Remains of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, 1686-1687, Folk-Lore Society, IV (1881), p. 128.

<sup>2</sup>J. G. Scherzsius, *Glossarium Germanicum Medii Aevi*, Argentorati, 1781, s. v. *Judasfluch*.

aller vnd iglicher lehunge, die er besizet vnd innen haltet, baide von der heiligen kirchen vnd von dem reiche, vnd ander gaistlich vnd werntlich, dornach. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Solemn, dignified, juristic, and almost always lacking in any suggestion of popular or casual employment, this Judas Iscariot curse is suitable, as Martin (p. 442) says, for use in "political pronouncements, pontifical decrees including decrees of gift, epitaphs, and in poetry." In the following notes I adopt for convenience his arrangement, adding, however, separate headings for its special uses against thieves and for the protection of books.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Political Uses.* During the eleventh century the Judas curse was on one occasion published as widely in France as it had once been in the Roman Empire where Justinian exacted it of his praetorian prefects (Martin, pp. 443-44), for it was contained in the Papal Bull of 1035 proclaiming the Peace of God according to which all men were commanded to lay down their arms in expectation of the second advent of Christ. After

<sup>3</sup> Io. Burchardius Menckenius, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum praecipue Saxonicarum*, Tomus I (Lipsiae, 1728), col. 1106 (Cap. XLVI of Hist. Imp. Sigismundi). This incident may also be referred to by Birlinger (*Alemannia*, XVI [1888], 63, s. v. *Judenfluech*), but the quotation is too brief to be clear.

<sup>4</sup> A very curious oath, which may have been used in conversation, is mentioned in a seventeenth-century translation of a Jewish life of Christ, the *Toldoth Yeshua*: "Und alle Weisen der Völker wissen dies Geheimniss, aber sie leugnen es, aber sie fluchen und schelten den Judas Ischariota, und wenn sie Hader und Streit unter einander haben, sagen sie einer dem andern, es geschehe dir, wie Judas Ischariota dem Jesus gethan."—S. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen*, Berlin, 1902, p. 100. The secret here alluded to is the story telling how Christ flew in the air before Queen Helena in order to prove His divinity. Judas rose into the air after Him and overcame his Master by an obscene trick. This episode is regularly found in the *Toldoth Yeshua*, see Krauss, p. 307, s. v. *Luft-Kampf*. It can hardly have been known to Christians, nor would they, even if they had been familiar with it, have thought of turning it into a term of abuse. Another version of the *Toldoth* in alluding to this incident says: "Wegen dieses Ereignisses weinen sie [die Christen] in ihrer Nacht [a pun on Weihnachten] und wegen der That, die Juda an ihm verübte."—Krauss, p. 55. From this it is clear that the author conceives the story as an insult to the followers of Christ. Only Hebrews could have employed the incident in a curse.

the gospel of the day and while the tapers were being extinguished to emphasize the solemnity of the scene, the officiating priest read from the pulpit these words:

May they who refuse to obey be accursed, and have their portion with Cain the first murderer, with Judas the archtraitor, and with Dathan and Abiram, who went down alive into the pit. May they be accursed in the life that now is; and may their hope of salvation be put out, as the light of these candles is extinguished from their sight.\*

An unusual form of the curse occurs in a Greek imprecation against the avaricious, which alludes to the fall of Judas from his lofty position:

Εἴ τις οὖν θελήσει διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν ἢ δι' ἑτέραν αἰτίαν τινὰ καταφρονῆσαι τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι χρυσοβούλλῃ λόγῳ τῆς βασιλείας μου διωρισμένων, πρῶτα μὲν τὸ τῆς ἀγίας τριάδος φέγγος, ὅτε παριστάμεθα τῷ φοβερῷ βήματι, μὴ θεάσαιοτο· ἐκπέσοι δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν μαριδος, ὡς ὁ Ἰούδας τῆς δωδεκάδος.<sup>6</sup>

In an incident recounted by Gregory of Tours (c. 540-594) there appears something which resembles the Judas Iscariot curse and which perhaps belongs here. Bishop Praetextatus was being tried under the statute "Episcopus in homicidio, adulterio et periurio depræhensus, a sacerdotio divellatur," and failed to obtain the favor of King Chilpericus in his defense: "petiit rex, ut aut tunicam [sic] eius scinderetur, aut centesimus octavus psalmus, qui maledictionibus [sic] Scarioticas continet, super caput eius recitaretur"—or that it should be decreed against him that he could never receive communion.<sup>7</sup>

\* E. C. Brewer, *The Historical Note-Book*, s. v. "Peace of God."

<sup>6</sup> This passage occurs in the "Aurea Bulla De Instrumentis Ecclesiarum" (1148 A. D.) of the emperor Manuel Comnenus; see *Jus graeco-romanum, Pars III, Novellae constitutiones*, ed. Zachariae a Lingenthal, Lipsiae, 1857, Nov. LVI, pp. 443 ff. It is quoted with minor inaccuracies by Solovev, *K legendam ob Iudye predatelye*, Kharkov, 1898, p. 104, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Historia Francorum*, lib. V (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingiarum*, I, i, p. 214). The 108th Psalm here alluded to is now the 109th; the early Fathers thought it referred prophetically to Judas, see, e. g., Origen, *Contra Celsum*, II, 20 (M. S. G., 11, 836-837); Wier (cols. 526 ff.) mentions the psalm particularly in connection with the curse as used against thieves, and Verdum in an excellent essay on charms in general cites a long formula "Ad

2. *Ecclesiastical Uses.* Martin remarks that the church rarely employs the Judas curse in the vernacular; and this might be expected, for the formal documents of the church are written almost without exception in Latin. His earliest Latin example dates from 908 A. D., and it is not until the thirteenth century that the curse is written in Spanish. To the eleventh century belongs a long and detailed Greek curse preserved in a set of regulations for a monastery. Since it refers to the hanging of Judas rather than to his lot in Hell, it belongs to a divergent form. In rhetorical effectiveness it does not suffer by comparison with the more familiar type:

Εἰ δέ τις παρὰ τὰ διατεταγμένα παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιχειρήσει τι διαπράξασθαι ἢ βασιλεὺς ἢ ἄρχων, εἴτε ἀρχόμενος, εἴτε ἀρχιερεὺς ἢ ἱερεὺς ἢ τι τῶν παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρεσκείας ἐντεταλμένων παραβῆναι ἢ ἐφορεῖαν ὅπως ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἢ χαριστικάριον ἄλλον ἐπιστῆσαι ἢ προνοητὴν ἐκτὸς ὧν ἐγὼ μνημονεύσω, ἢ ἀναφορὰν ἢ προχεῖρισιν προστασίας τινός, (πάσης γὰρ ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρθοδόξων ὀφείλει μνημονεύειν ὁ τοῦ πτωχοτροφείου τοῦ Πανοικτίρμονος ναός), καταραθεῖ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀπὸ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ ἐκριζωθεῖ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἢ μνήμη αὐτοῦ καὶ καταλάβοι αὐτὸν πένθος καὶ οὐαὶ καὶ προσπορεύοιτο αὐτοῦ θλῆψις, καὶ δόξῃ αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν τρόμον τοῦ Κᾶιν, τὴν λέπραν τοῦ Γιεζῆ, τὴν ἐγχόνην τοῦ Ἰούδα καὶ λογισθεῖ ἢ μερὶς αὐτοῦ μετ' ἐκείνων τῶν εἰπόντων· ἄρον ἄρον, σταύρωσον τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ υἱόν· καὶ μὴ ἴδοι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἐλπίδι ὁ παντέφορος ὀφθαλμός, ἀλλ' ἐξαλειφθεῖ ἐκ γῆς τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ καὶ κυριευθεῖ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπαντήσῃ αὐτῷ αἰώνιος τιμωρία.<sup>5</sup>

cognoscendum furem" in which the psalm (but not Judas) is mentioned; see "Over Bezweringsformulieren," *Mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden over het jaar 1900-1901*, Leiden, 1901, pp. 43-46. The history of the exegesis of this psalm and of its interpretation as prefiguring the death of Judas is of considerable interest.

\* Michael Attaliates, Διάταξις, in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi*, V (Vienna, 1887), pp. 300-301. It is also printed in Constantinus Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, I (Venice, 1872), 12-13. See further W. Nissen, *Die Διάταξις des Michael Attaliates von 1077*, Jena Diss., 1894; he cites (p. 37) a list of parallels to this curse under the heading: "Schwere Fluchformeln gegen die Uebertreter seiner Vorschriften"; but it does not appear that any of these mention Judas. At the same place he gives also a number of parallels to the freedom of the monastery from secular or ecclesiastical superiors. The

Much later than these is a curious passage in a vernacular decree of the council at Moscow in 1667 which excommunicates schismatics in the following terms:

And may he [who does not believe and who does not truly repent] be excommunicated and unforgiven until death, and may his lot and soul be with Judas Iscariot, the traitor, and with the Jews who mocked Christ, and with Arius, and with other accursed heretics.\*

Notwithstanding the gap in space and time this clearly belongs to the same tradition as the usual Western curse: "habeat partem cum Iuda." The Russian oath seems also to follow the model of Michael Attaliates in referring to the Jews who cursed Christ; at any rate I do not find them mentioned in any Western curse.

In the upper Albanian diocese of Achrida (or Ochrida), which claimed and struggled to maintain *autocephalia* or ecclesiastical independence for more than a thousand years and which was alternately dominated by Latin and by Greek missionaries until the final abolition of its freedom by the orthodox patriarch in 1767, the Judas curse was officially employed on at least two occasions. It was appended to a pastoral letter written by the patriarch Joasaph and the synod in 1708. This example is interesting for its mention of the 318 Nicene fathers, who are found with some frequency in the near Eastern formulæ. It is directed against any one who may be led to speak scandal against the monastery and the priest's rulings:

\*Ὁς δ' ἂν ἀνευλαβείᾳ καὶ αὐθαδείᾳ οἰστροηλατούμενος κινήσῃ τι σκάνδαλον κατὰ τοῦ ψυχωφeloῦς καὶ θεαρέστου τούτου ἔργου τοῦ φροντιστηρίου καὶ ποιήσῃ τι παρὰ τὰ διορισθέντα καὶ διαταχθέντα παρὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνδοξότητος καὶ κοινῇ ψήφῳ ἡμῶν καὶ συνοδικῇ ἀποφάσει ἐπικυρωθέντα, ὁποῖός ἐστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἱερώμενος ἢ λαϊκός, συγγενὴς τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνδοξότητος ἢ ξένος, ἐγχώριος ἢ ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς, ἀφωρισμένος εἴη ἀπὸ θεοῦ κυρίου παντοκράτορος καὶ κατηραμένος καὶ ἀσυγχώρητος καὶ ἄλυτος μετὰ θάνατον. αἱ πέτραι καὶ ὁ σιδηρὸς λυθίσονται, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδαμῶς· καὶ εἴη στένων καὶ τρέμων ἐπὶ γῆς ὡς ὁ Κάϊν· κληρονομήσῃ τὴν λέπραν τοῦ Γιεζῆ καὶ τὴν ἀγχόνην τοῦ Ἰούδα.

*Διάταξις* seems to be a very interesting document for the student of folk-lore and mediæval custom; cf. Krumbacher, *Bys. Litt.*, pp. 269-271, 315, 317 or the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, .II, 60.

\* Quoted by Solovev (p. 104) from *Materialy dlya raskola za pervoe vremya ego sushchestvovaniya*, Moscow, 1876, II, 219-220.



τὰ πράγματα καὶ οἱ κόποι αὐτοῦ εἴσαν εἰς ἐξολόθρευσιν καὶ ἀφανισμόν' καὶ προκοπὴν οὐ μὴ ἴδοι, ἔχων καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς τῶν ἁγίων τρακοσιῶν δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ θεοφόρων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων συνόδων.<sup>19</sup>

It seems pretty clear that the curse—at least as it was used in this diocese—was a rather formal thing which did not permit of much variation from the accepted norm. Thus a decade later a very similar oath forms the conclusion of a pastoral letter of the patriarch Kyr Zosimas in which he acknowledges a gift to a school in Kastoria and promises the donor the protection of the patriarch and of the synod. The letter is dated 1719. The curse is as follows:

Ἐπὶ τέλους δέ, εἰ μὲν ιερόμενος τύχη ὦν, ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἀποφαινόμεθα μετὰ πάσης τῆς ιερᾶς συνόδου, ἵνα γυμνοῦται τῆς ιερατικῆς αὐτοῦ τάξεως καὶ ιεροπραξίας, καὶ παντελῶς νὰ καθαίρηται (sic) καὶ νὰ ἀναθεματίζεται καὶ νὰ ἀποστρέφεται ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν, ὡς ὁ προδότης Ἰούδας, καὶ νὰ καταδιώκεται ὡς λυμεὼν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ κοινότητος· εἰ δὲ λαϊκός, ἐστὶ ἀφωρισμένος παρὰ κυρίου παντοκράτορος, κατηραμένος καὶ ἀσυγχώρητος καὶ ἄλυστος μετὰ θάνατον· αἱ πέτραι καὶ ὁ σιδηρὸς λυθήσονται, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδαμῶς· κληρονομήσῃ τὴν λέπραν τοῦ Γιεζῆ καὶ τὴν ἀγχόνην τοῦ Ἰούδα, ὡς ἄλλος β' Ἰούδας· νὰ σχισθῇ ἡ γῆ καὶ νὰ τὸν καταπῇ, ὡς τὸν Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβηρών· νὰ τρέμῃ καὶ ἀναστεινέξῃ, ὡς ὁ Κάιν, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ παῖδιά του καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα του· τὸ μέρος του νὰ εἶνε μὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ὅπου ἐσταύρωσαν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης.<sup>21</sup>

3. *Legal Uses.* In documents recording gifts or sales of land, the Judas curse often appears; but the fact that the imprecation is usually in Latin, even when the deed is in the vernacular, shows that this clause had become a stereotyped formula. Martin has cited a considerable variety of forms, which bespeaks some freedom in its use. An early example which is mentioned in connection with a gift of Theodetrudes to the monastery of St. Denis in 627 is interesting because of the rhetorical skill in its management:

Propterea rogo et contestor coram Deo et Angelis eius et omni natione hominum tam propinquis quam extraneis, ut nullus contra

<sup>19</sup> H. Gelzer, "Der Patriarchat von Achrida," *Abhandlungen der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, XLVII (phil.-hist. Klasse, XX), Leipzig, 1902, Part 5, p. 73. He cites another example (which I have not seen) in *Ἱεροσ. σταχ.*, II, p. 325.

<sup>21</sup> Gelzer, p. 93.

deliberationem meam impedimentum S. Dionysio de hac re facere praesumat; si fuerit, quia manus suas ad hoc apposuerit faciendo, aeternus rex peccata mea absolvat et ille maledictus in inferno inferiori et anathema et Maranatha percussus cum Iuda cruciandis descendat, et peccatum quem amittit in filios et in domo sua crudelissime plaga ut leprose pro huius culpa a Deo percussus, ut non sit qui inhabitet in Domo eius, ut eorum plaga in multis timorem concutiat, et quantum res ipsa meliorata valuerit, duplex satisfactione fisco egenti exsolvat.<sup>22</sup>

King Eadgar's charter of liberties to Taunton (968 A. D.), which is mentioned but not quoted by Martin, is particularly interesting because the Latin text is accompanied with a briefer, free Anglo-Saxon translation:

Si quis autem praesumptuosus, diabolo instigante, hanc libertatem infringere, minuerere, vel in aliud quam constituimus transferre voluerit, anathema sit, et in Christi maledictione permanens aeterno barathri incendio, cum Iuda Christi proditore ejusque complicitibus miserimus puniatur.

Sy he mid awurgednesse ascyred fram ures Drithnes gemanan and ealra his halgena, and on helle susle ecelice getintragod mid Iudan þe Christes lewa wea.<sup>23</sup>

A score of instances, exemplifying the uses of the Judas curse in the province—then the kingdom—of León, can be picked out from a single collection of charters of gift and similar documents.<sup>24</sup> All of them fall between the years 918 and 1034, the limits of the collection. The earliest of these curses (in a deed of Ordoño II to the monastery of Eslonza in 918) is as follows:

Si quis sane temerarius et audax ad inrumpendum conaverit venire, presenti seculo non careat humana vel divina ultionem, et in futuro piceam cum transgressoribus possideat penam et cum Iuda proditore finitis temporibus sit [so]ciaturus.

<sup>22</sup> Félibien, *Histoire de St. Denys*, Pièces justificatives, No. 2, as cited by Crüwell, "Die Verfluchung der Bücherdiebe," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, IV (1906), 207-208.

<sup>23</sup> Benjamin Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici*, London, 1865, pp. 234-235. By a slip of the pen Martin ascribes another Anglo-Saxon example of the curse to Queen Æthelred. Her name should be Queen Æthelflæd (the first wife of Æthelred II [the Unready], 978-1016).

<sup>24</sup> Barrau-Dihigo, "Chartes royales léonaises," *Revue hispanique*, X (1903), 356 ff. It will not be necessary to give a page reference for each example, since the year will afford a sufficient identification.

Three years later the clause which becomes a standard form—if any form may be so termed—makes its appearance:

Quod si quisquam ex aliqua generis homo voluerit hanc nostram violare firmitatem, anathematizetur per secula cuncta, et luat penas cum Iuda Domini traditore eterna dampnacione, et ne immunis a dampna secularia videatur, exsolvet quod inquietaverit in duplo et insuper decem libras auri vobis perpetim profuturas.

Characteristic of this are the words “luat penas cum Iuda” which reappear again and again throughout these curses and show a supremacy which is only feebly contested from 960 by a new and more verbose formula. A long curse of 941 is curious for its unusual phrases and still more so for the fact that after more than a generation it is copied verbatim in a similar document of the same monastery. This queer wordy affair must have caught some monk's fancy and when it was his turn to draft a deed he copied the old formula:

Si quis sane ex successoribus nostris vel cuiuslibet alicuius persona, potentior aut inferior, hoc factum nostrum infringere quiverit, quicumque ille fuerit, sit excommunicatus et perpetua confusione multatus in conspectu Dei patris omnipotentis et sanctorum angelorum, apostolorum et martyrum eius, et insuper cum Iuda Domini proditore uno contubernetur in loco in tenebris exterioribus et caligosis, atque pariet tantum et aliut tantum quantum infringere quiverit, et hec scriptura plenam abeat firmitatem.<sup>22</sup>

The imprecation which embellishes the gift of Sancho I to the monastery of Sahagun in 960 is the first to mention the patron saints of the foundation—they occur with considerable regularity in the later curses written at this place—and is couched in an unusually rhetorical style:

Quod si aliquis huius nostre hoblationis temerare presumpserit et huius serie testamenti nostre infringere maluerit, obto, obto per intercessionem patronum meorum Sanctorum Facundi et Primitivi, ille temerator a sinu matris ecclesie seclusum existere, et eternis incendiis cum proditore Christi faciant illum cremare, ultimi examinationis diem non cum celestis paratum possideat gaudium, sed cum reprobis eat in ignem eternum qui diabolo et angelis eius est preparatum, et in corpore vivens propriis careat lucernis a fronte, aures denegent auditum et lingua loquendi careat usum.

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<sup>22</sup> This is in a deed of Ramiro II to the monastery of Celanova (*Revue Hispanique*, X, 377); compare with it a deed to the same monastery of 985, *ibid.*, p. 425.

Here first appears the phrase "*careat lucernis a fronte*" which becomes very frequent in the later curses. It recurs, for example, in a document of 968:

*Si quis autem ex prosapia nostra genusque regale, tam religiosus quam laicus, seu quilibet humani generis homo, hunc votum litationis nostre infringere vel minuere seu inmutare temptaverit, atque post discessum nostrum hanc regiam tenuerit sedem, quicquid talia egerit, inprimis a fronte careat lucernis corpusque eius vermibus scaturiat, et cum sceleratis penas luat tartareas numquam finiendas, et cum Iuda crudelis et Domini proditore sors existat in eternam damnationem, et hanc seriem testamenti quam pro remedio animarum nostrarum fieri elegimus, in cunctis obtineat firmitatis rovoem evo perhenni et usque in finem venturam.*

Observe in this the reminiscence of the "*luat penas.*" In 971 the phrase reads: "*et cum Iuda proditore multetur penas in eterna dampnacione,*" and it is very freely handled in a clause of 975:

*Si quis igitur deince et in subsequentibus temporibus, tan ex clericis quam ex laycis vel cuiuspias omo asertionis, contra unc factum meum inrumpere vel inmutare temtaberit, inprimis sit excommunicatus et a sacro corpus Domini sit extraneo, ac post mortem cum Iuda qui Dominum tradidit in infernum perpetim luceat, insuper eveniat super eum omnes maledictiones que scriptas sunt in libro Moysi, et pro temporali pena pariet duo auri talenta, et anc scriptura plenam abeat firmitate.*

In imprecations of 977 and 980 the clause appears with comparatively slight changes. In 986 it is used in conjunction with the "*a fronte careat lucernis*":

*Si quis tamen . . . infringere, disrumpere aut disturbare vel extraneare voluerit, inprimis communione corporis et sanguinis Christi, qui est redemptio nostra, extraneus maneat, propriis a fronte careat lucernis, atque cum Iuda Domini proditore anathematus et picea tunica indutus in inferni baratro penas luceat eternas, et a regia hordinatione vel iussione quoartatus, pariare quogatur iuxta gotdigam legem auri talenta quinque, et quod desuper scriptum resonat duplare non tardet.*

The half-dozen curses which occur in the last fifty years of the period 918-1034 show that systematization had taken place, and as a result all but one contain the clause "*et cum Iuda Domini proditore penas semper luceat infinitas*" (988), or, as the last instance (1034) reads, "*et cum Iuda Domini proditore luat penas in eterna dampnacione.*" By this time—the first quarter

of the eleventh century—the Judas curse had become, so far as the Leonese charters are concerned, an empty, meaningless formula, crystallized in a set phrase. The one imprecation (of 994) which varies from the norm lacks the spirit and zest of the oaths of the earlier generation and only emphasizes the seeming loss of interest in the Judas curse:

Si quis vero quippiam homo . . . exurgere voluerit, ut hanc testationem convellere atque confringere presumat, inprimis sit excommunicatus et perpetua maledictione constrictus, in conspectu Dei Patris omnipotentis et sanctorum omnium angelorum eius sit coram Filio eius Sanctoque Spiritu obnoxius et reus et a cunctorum sanctorum cetu extraneus, atque cum reprobis et condemnatis eternos ignes suscipiatur de stabili in iatu, sive sit vir, sive mulier, multiplicentur tenebras tenebre illius et mors morti eius atque Domini proditoris damna sortitus una mancipientur in pena, et insuper damna temporalia afflictus duplet tantum quantum de hoc testamento auferre voluerit, et vobis perpetim abitura.

An imprecation used to protect a gift from a French monastery in 1053 is remarkable for its mention of Nero, who does not figure so frequently in this collection of villains:

Si quis autem huic largitioni mee contraire aut minuere ex hac re quippiam temptaverit, maledictione Cham, qui patris pudenda deridenda fratribus ostendit, feriat, et cum Dathan et Abiron, quos terra vivos absorbit, et cum Juda traditore, qui se suspendit laqueo, et cum Nerone, qui Petrum in cruce suspendit et Paullum decollavit, nisi respuerit et ad satisfactionibus remedium confugerit, cum diabolo in inferno poenas luat, donec abiturus veniam eum diabolus est accepturus. Amen.<sup>26</sup>

In some Slavic deeds to monasteries the Judas curse is found in the vernacular. Thus in a document recording a gift of Stefan Detchanskij in 1327: "And may he be counted with Judas and with those who said, 'His blood on us and on our children.'" <sup>27</sup> And similarly in a deed of Stefan Dushan: "And

<sup>26</sup> Guerard, *Cartulaire de S. Père*, I, 222, as cited by Crüwell, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, IV (1906), 208 from Montalembert, *Die Mönche des Abendlandes* (tr. Müller), VI, 42.

<sup>27</sup> Šafarik, *Památky dřevního písemnictví jeho slovansko, vydání druhé*, 1873, p. 99 (quoted by Solovev, p. 192). The original is: i da iest prišten' s' iyudoyu i rekāikh: kr'v' iego na nas' i na čedekh našikh. [This and other examples credited to Šafarik are taken from Solovev, since Šafarik's book is inaccessible to me.]

may he be counted with Judas the betrayer of Christ and with those who said: 'His blood on us and our children.'"<sup>18</sup> Arius is mentioned in a deed of St. Lazar: "And may he be counted with Judas and Arius and those, who said: 'His blood on us and on our children.'"<sup>19</sup> Similar imprecations are noted twice by Solovev in the documents of the Bulgarian emperor, Jan Šiſman: "And may he share the lot of Judas the betrayer of the Lord, and inherit the leprosy of Gehazi" or "May he have the lot of Judas and Arius."<sup>20</sup> Solovev comments: "It is curious that Judas is mentioned alone in the earlier deeds and in the later [we find] Judas and Arius. How is this to be explained? Is it impossible to find an explanation in the history of the South Slavic church? I have not enough material to decide this question." It is hardly necessary to look for a reason in the church history of a particular nation; as time passed the heresy of Arius was more and more generally and severely denounced by Athanasians. The same curse is found in France, e. g., "cum Iuda Scarioth Caifanque, Arrio atque Sabellio in inferno penas sustineat" or "cum Iuda proditore et Simone Mago et Arrio et Sabellio et Aman et Oloferno demergatur in inferno" (Martin, p. 436, n. 1).

4. *Special Uses against Thieves.* John Wier, who wrote a long treatise on witches at the end of the sixteenth century, terms the Judas curse "anathema sancti Adalberti"<sup>21</sup> and de-

<sup>18</sup> Šafarik, p. 103: i da ie pričten' iyude predatelyu Khristovu i tem rekšim': kr'v' ego na nas' i na čedekh' našikh'.

<sup>19</sup> Šafarik, p. 108: i da ie pričten' iyude i arii i tem, iže rekoša: krov' ego na nas i na čedekh' našikh.

<sup>20</sup> Šafarik, p. 109: i pričestie da imat' s iyudoſ predatelim gospodinem, i prokaſa gjeſiſvado naſlėduet'; and: i s' iyude i arie česti da zimat.

<sup>21</sup> To Professor Hepding of Giessen I am indebted for the suggestion that the "anathema S. Adalberti" may not refer to the famous saint but to Bishop Adalbert or Aldebert who was condemned as a heretic in 745 at the instance of Boniface. (See Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyklopädie d. Theologie*; the documentary account may be found in Schannat and Hartzheim, *Concilia Germaniae*, I, 60 ff.) This Adelbert or Aldebert was honored by the folk as a saint. He circulated a "Himmelsbrief" and a prayer in which the names of angels occurred and which the Pope termed devilish. The recollection of his magical powers persisted among the folk and his name may very easily have become attached to such a formula as the Judas curse. Professor Hepding remarks that he

clares that its use to regain stolen property is open to condemnation as impiety. He then gives with some comment a very elaborate curse (and charm) of 112 short lines, which is briefly as follows:

Ex autoritate Dei omnipotentis . . . sancti Adalberti & omnium Confessorum . . . excommunicamus, damnamus, maledicimus uinculo anathematis, & à liminibus sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ segregamus illos fures, sacrilegos . . . sit pars eorum cum Dathan & Abiron, quos terra propter eorum peccata & superbiam deglutiuit: sit etiam pars illorum cum Iuda traditore, qui Dominum precio uendidit, Amen: & cum Pontio Pilato, & cum eis qui dixerunt Domino Deo, Recede à nobis, uiarum tuarum scientiam nolumus: fiant filij eorum orphani: sint maledicti in ciuitate . . . maledictum caput eorum, ora, nares . . . uiscera omnia. . . . Adiuro te Lucifer cum omnibus satellitibus tuis, cum Patre & Filio & Spiritu sancto, & cum humanitate & natiuitate Christi, & cum uirtute omnium sanctorum, ut nullam habeas requiem diebus neque noctibus, donec perducas eos ad interitum . . . & sicut Dominus beato Petro apostolo & eius successoribus, quorum uices tenemus, & nobis quamuis indignis potestatem contulit . . . & sicut candela de manib. meis electa extinguitur, sic opera eorum & animæ eorum in foetore barathri extinguantur, nisi reddant quod furati sunt, infra certum terminum.\*

The omitted passages are simply expansions or variations of the preceding ideas. Wier found particularly offensive the fact that Lucifer and his satellites are called upon along with the powers of light: "Quæ communicio Christo cum Belial?" (2 Cor. 6) he observes. Furthermore, Christ gave Peter the keys of Heaven (Matth. 16), but not the right to blaspheme: "Non blasphemorum eiusmodi anathematum fulmina concessit, multo minus mandauit." These opinions concerning the Judas curse (as employed against thieves) seem to have been held with some tenacity, for Frommann in his curious volume *De Fascinatione Magica* of about a century later digests the objections as follows:

De hoc anathemate quid sit iudicandum Freudius *Quæst.* 221 ex Brochmanno & aliis Theologis proponit ita: In hoc anathemate (1) fur

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later found that this suggestion of his had been anticipated. M. Delrio in the *Disquisitionum magicarum libri VI* comments as follows: Alii utuntur exorcismo seu anathemate, quod blaspheme vocant S. Adalberti. . . . Quam prorsus suspicor esse illius Adelberti hæretici, qui se sanctum vocabat et damnatus fuit à Papa Zacharia. (Mainz edition, 1624, p. 469.)

\* J. Wierus, *De præstigiis daemonum*, Basel, 1583, cols. 522-524, lib. V, cap. vi, "Ut Res furto sublata restituatur, anathema magicum."

æternæ morti, & damnationi adjudicatur, cum Christianus etiam inimicis bene precari debeat, Matth. 5. 44. quod contra naturam anathematis est, cujus finis est, ut homo carne afflictus salvetur in die adventus Jesu Christi 1. Cor. 5 (2) junctim invocatur S. Trinitas, Maria, Apostoli &c. quod Idololatria est (3) junctim quoque adjuratur Lucifer, & Deus & uterque in vindictam pari jure imploratur, quod est colere Diabolum, & Deum abnegare, Deo simul & Diabolo servire, communionem Christi & Belial introducere.<sup>23</sup>

This employment of the Judas curse is particularly interesting because the curse was traditionally used as a protection against book-thieves. From the association of Judas with thievery, which was already present in every one's mind, and which was reinforced by this imprecation and the accepted exegesis of Psalm 109, there arose a curious charm which compares the sufferings of Judas at the betrayal to the sufferings invoked upon the thief's head and by means of these pains it is hoped that he will be forced to return the stolen goods.<sup>24</sup> An anathema of the bishop of Czernowitz in 1786 makes the development of the Judas charm against thieves clearer. Dosothei, by the grace of God Bishop of the imperial Bukovina, learned that one Theodor Halip, priest in the village of Oprischeni, had lost by theft four oxen, one mare, and one heifer, and that further the villager Basil Stratulat had complained of the disappearance of eleven horses and six oxen. Since his soul "could not endure these injuries and the despicable sins of these thefts, which had been committed by wretched people without fear of God," he cursed the guilty ones and their accomplices by virtue of the power entrusted to him by God and our Savior (this is the clause at which Wier and Frommann balked) in the following fashion:

That all of them—thieves and accomplices—should be cursed by God the Lord, the just Judge and Savior, Jesus Christ, by His most pure mother, by the twelve apostles, by the 318 fathers of the council at Nicaea, and all saints. Iron, ore, and stone and all hard substances should decay, but their bodies should persist uninjured and undissolved after death! In eternity their souls should partake with Judas of eternal torments, but in this world the wrath of God should rest upon them and be poured over them and their children! They should have

<sup>23</sup> J. C. Frommann, *Tractatus de fascinatione Novus et Singularis*, Norimbergae, 1675, pp. 708-709.

<sup>24</sup> See my paper, "Judas Iscariot in Charms and Incantations," *Washington University Studies*, VIII (1920), Humanistic Series, 1, 3-17.



no success in life, their labors and efforts should accomplish their destruction. . . . The tremor of Cain and the sores of Gehazi should cling to their bodies. . . . Those who know and disclose the evildoers shall be pardoned, and they shall be blessed by God, the Lord. So may it be."

A queer formula employed against thieves which was written down in a German recipe-book in Baden in 1727 is half anathema and half spell. Beginning with an allusion of magical flavor, it continues with a phrase intentionally reminiscent of the powers conferred on St. Peter (Matth. 16: 19) and its conclusion is likewise half incantation and half curse. Noteworthy is the comparison of successive states of the thief's mind to successive states of Judas' mind at the betrayal. This apparently unusual formula is as follows:

Ich beschwöre dich bey Maister Arbegast, der allen dieben ein Maister was, der sei bundten und knipft und nimmermer auffgelöst biss ahn jüngsten tag. da soll dir so bandt sein als dem Judas wahr, da er unser lieber herr Jesus Christus verkaufft hat, so bandt sol dir sein dieb und diebin; wan du wült stehlen das mein, so solst du gefangen und gebunden sein; da solt so wenig ruoh haben als Judas hat, da er unserm lieben herrn Jesum Christum einen falschen kuss gab, so bang sol dir sein dieb. . . . Du dieb oder diebin solt wenig weichen von meinem guot, biss dass du mir kannst zehlen die staudten, die über die erden ausluogen, du muost mir bei meinem guoth still stahn, biss unser liebe frau ein andren Sohn gebehrt und ich dich in des Teuffels namen urlaub geb im nahmen Gottes vatters und des Sohnes und des hl. Gaists. amen."

5. *Special Uses against Book Thieves.* Ecclesiastics in the Levant and in Europe used various imprecations, some of them containing the name of Judas, to protect the books of their libraries from theft. Crüwell, who has collected the continental examples,<sup>27</sup> believes that they were suggested originally by the

<sup>26</sup> Kaindl, "Beiträge zur Volkskunde Osteuropas," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XXVII (1917), 240-241, No. 20, "Fluchbrief gegen Diebe" (quoted from F. A. Wickenhauser, *Geschichte des Bistums Radautz*, I, 191 ff.).

<sup>27</sup> Birlinger, "Volkstümliches aus der Baar [Baden]," *Alemannia*, II (1875), 128, No. 4.

<sup>28</sup> "Die Verfluchung der Bücherdiebe," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, IV (1906), 197-223. That the book-curse has not yet outlived its former usefulness is apparent from the experience of Gelzer, who had difficulty in obtaining a manuscript that had been stolen from the

author's curse against the falsifiers of his text. The damnation threatened against the stealer of a book is a corollary to the notion that the copier of a manuscript had earned a claim on eternal happiness; and in their beginnings, says Crüwell, the expression of the one idea is roughly contemporary with that of the other. The Church took no decided position in the matter, in particular it did not definitely favor the use of curses to prevent the theft of books, and consequently some monasteries never made use of them. Others seem to have a tradition of some antiquity favoring the curse. The fashion of the Judas curse in this use seems to have originated, so far as the Occident is concerned, at Monte Cassino, the oldest of the Benedictine monasteries, and to have spread from there into the Benedictine monasteries of France. On the first page of a ninth-century manuscript of the *Historia tripartita* of Cassiodorus belonging to Monte Cassino the thief is cursed in this way:

Si quis nobis hunc librum quolibet modo malo ingenio tollere temptauerit aut uoluerit, sit anathema maranatha, et cum Juda traditore domini triginta maledictiones iuxta numerum triginta argenteorum quibus dominum uendidit quae in centesimo octauo psalmo scriptae reperiuntur. Has omnes maledictiones et hic et in aeternum possideat, qui hunc ut dictum est nobis tollere maluerit.<sup>22</sup>

The standard Benedictine curse is, however, shorter and makes no mention of the 109th (formerly 108th) Psalm, which was thought to prefigure the fate of Judas. In the Benedictine monasteries of eastern France (Tours, St. Mesmin de Micy, St. Fleury) the formula seems to have run much as follows:

Hic est liber Sancti Benedicti abbatis Floriacensis coenobii; si quis eum aliquo ingenio non redditurus abstraxerit, cum Juda proditore, Anna et Caipha atque Pilato damnationem accipiat! Amen.<sup>23</sup>

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monastery. See his account in "Der wiederaufgefundene Kodex des hl. Klemens," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, LV (1903) p. 61.

<sup>22</sup> A. Reifferscheid, "Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Italica, V-IX," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, phil.-hist. Klasse*, LXXI (1872), 88.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Crüwell, p. 214; L. Delisle, *Catalogue des manuscrits des fonds Libri et Barrois*, p. 30. The example above is taken from MS. Fonds Libri 92 (now Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. lat. 1597), a collection of extracts from St. Gregory in an eighth-century hand. A slightly

Ludwig Traube has collated 28 manuscripts which once belonged to the monastery of St. Mesmin de Micy in order to arrive at a "critical" text of the curse, which does not vary essentially from that above (19 of his examples contain the "cum Juda").<sup>30</sup> The manuscripts of the Benedictine monastery of St. Victor in Paris contained, says Crüwell, the Judas curse. It is also to be found, according to Traube, in a manuscript of St. Martin of Tours which is now in England (MS Egerton 2831). The combination of Ananias, Caiaphas, and Judas occurs also in the Brendan legend, where it may have been suggested by the oath.<sup>30a</sup>

Brief and to the point is a rhyming curse in an old German manuscript: "Qui te furetur, cum Juda dampnificetur."<sup>31</sup>

I have noted two examples of the Judas curse against book thieves in Greek,—enough to show that others undoubtedly exist. These are particularly important since they are separated by several centuries, one being of the early eleventh century, the other of the fourteenth. In form they, like the other Greek and Levantine examples, differ sufficiently from the Latin type to prove that they represent a parallel tradition rather than a translation from a Western formula. The continued existence of this parallel tradition may be demonstrated by a comparison between the anathema of Bishop Dosothei cited above and the second of these Greek book-curses; observe in both the mention of the three hundred eighteen Nicene Fathers, who are not found in the Western formulæ. The earlier of the two curses occurs in a manuscript of Symeon Metaphrastes, dated in the colophon A. D. 1105:

Ὅστις σὺν βουλῇ ἄρει τήνδε τὴν βίβλον ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς μονῆς, ἢ εὐλόγως ἢ ἀνευλόγως . . . . . πρῶτον μὲν κληρονομίῳ ἀνάθημα, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἁγίων θεοφόρων πατέρων, καὶ ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ μετὰ Ἰουδα τοῦ καὶ προδότου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστατῶν.<sup>32</sup>

different curse in Martène, *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux Bénédictins de Ste. Maur*, Paris, 1717, p. 68 omits Pilate and reads "portionem aeternae damnationis." The writer says that it headed a ninth-century book of sacraments.

<sup>30</sup> *Hieronymi chroniconum cod. Flor.*, p. xvi.

<sup>30a</sup> On Judas in the Brendan story see Dr. Paull F. Baum's *Judas' Sunday Rest*, which is to appear in the *Modern Language Review*.

<sup>31</sup> Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen*, 3rd ed., p. 528 (Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Altdeutsche Handschriften*, p. 232).

<sup>32</sup> B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca, sive de ortu et progressu litterarum Graecarum*, Paris, 1708, pp. 57-58, Codex Colbertinus 25. The monastery was in Constantinople.

Codex Colbertinus 10, of the fourteenth century, containing an *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, ends with the following curse:

Εἴ τις τοῦτο [ the volume ] ἐξαιρήσῃ ἀνευ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ Ἀρχιεπίσκο-  
 ῦ ἡμῶν, νὰ ἔχῃ τὴν θείαν καὶ ζωοποιὸν καὶ ἀσύγχυτον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον τριάδα,  
 καὶ τὴν παναγίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ μητέρα, τοῦ τιμίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου προδρό-  
 μου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, τῶν τιμ. θεοφόρων πατέρων, καὶ πάντων  
 σου [?] τῶν ἀγίων ἀμοιβήν, καὶ νὰ τὸν καταξέδ (sic) ἐν Σοδομογομορ-  
 ρας ὡ ἀγγχόν. Ἰουδα ἀνάθεμα.<sup>33</sup>

In a Syriac manuscript in the St. Petersburg Public Library there is a remarkable passage which indicates that the Judas curse was known in the Levant in a form practically identical with that current in the West. The following words are written in Arabic letters on the fly-leaf:

This blessed book belongs to the church of the monastery of Sinai, and whosoever takes it away or tears a leaf from it, may the Virgin be a foe to him and may his fate be one with the fate of Judas Iscariot.<sup>34</sup>

This example is not dated by Solovev, but the curse appears again in a very similar form in an Arabic manuscript which is ascribed for palæographic reasons to the fourteenth century. The manuscript in question, containing New Testament Apocrypha, belongs to the convent of Deyr-es-Suriani or St. Mary Deipara in the Wady Natrôn, Egypt. In it a colophon, which is inserted at the end of the "Martyrdom of St. Andrew," runs as follows:

And praise be to God ever and always. This blessed book is the enduring perpetual guarded inheritance of the Monastery of Our Lady, the Lady whose lord is Anba Bishai, and is known as the Syrian Fathers. And no man shall have power from the Lord—praise be to Him!—to take it out of the Monastery on any pretence or by way of

<sup>33</sup> Montfaucon, pp. 75-78. "Hæc Græco-barbara, imo penitus Barbara," says Montfaucon, "hunc sensum habent: *si quis eum sine Archiepæ nutu abstulerit, incurrat maledictionem sanctæ Trinitatis, sanctæ Deiparæ, s. Joan. Baptistæ, SS. 318. Patrum Nicænorum et omnium Sanctorum, sortem Sodomæ et Gomorrhæ, laqueum Judæ, anathema.*" Though the Greek is not the best Attic, one may suspect that some of the blame attaches to the editor; the "[sic]" is his, and apparently a few more are needed; the "[?]" is mine.

<sup>34</sup> Solovev, p. 104, n. 1 (quoted from *Otčet Imperat. Pub. Bibl.* 1883, p. 184).

loss. And after he shall have taken it out his lot shall be with Judas, the betrayer of his Lord. And it was written for God's sake by permission of our Father, the Metropolitan Abbot of the Monastery above mentioned. And praise be to God always and for ever."

6. *Literary Uses.* Examples of the literary employment of the Judas curse are extremely rare.<sup>36</sup> Martin notes but three, all from the Spanish chronicles and romances, "where heroic style prevailed and conventionality was in order." An instance earlier than any of these may perhaps be seen in an allusion by Gregory of Tours to the 108th Psalm (now the 109th) and its interpretation as forecasting the fate of Judas. He says in the *Vita S. Abbadi*: if any one doubts his testimony, "et hic et in aeternum per virtutes sancti et beati domini Martini sit excommunicatus et anathematizatus, et veniat illa maledictio, quam psalmus CVIII continet in Judam Scariotis."<sup>37</sup> The solemnity of the oath is much emphasized in the *Klage* of Hartmann von Aue, one of the first of the great mediaeval German poets (fl. 1190). Here it is accompanied with a formal gesture, and the context indicates that it was spoken. The passage is as follows:

Ich han die vinger uf geleit  
unde swer dir's einen eit:  
ich bite mir got helfen sô,  
daz ich iemer werde vrô  
oder iemer gewinne  
deheine werltminne  
oder dehein êre,  
niwan daz ich mit sêre  
mûeze leiten mîn leben  
und dem ein unreht ende geben  
und daz diu arme sêle mîn  
êweclichen mûeze sîn  
in der tiefen helle  
Jûdases geselle,

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<sup>36</sup> Agnes S. Lewis, *Horae Semiticae*, IV, "The Mythological Acts of the Apostles," London, 1904, p. 29.

<sup>37</sup> Polixenes' oath in the *Winter's Tale* may possibly be descended from the traditional form. He swears that Hermione is virtuous; calling down on his head these consequences if he speaks falsely:

O, then my best blood turn  
To an infected jelly, and my name  
Be yoked with his that did betray the Best!

—Act I, sc. ii, 417.

<sup>38</sup> M. S. L. 71, 1149.

dā nieman frōude haben mac,  
 unz an den jungesten tac,  
 und daz si dannoch niht ensi  
 vor des tiuvels banden fri."<sup>2</sup>

There is at least one instance of literary employment of the Judas curse in the Near East. In an Armenian version of the Debate of the Body and Soul the body counsels the soul to seek worldly pleasures. The soul recommends a very different course of life and "curses the body with the imprecation of Cain and Judas," but the body is unheeding.<sup>3</sup>

Into such various languages as Old Church Slavic, Russian, Arabic, and Armenian the Judas curse has made its way—a distribution which accords well with the fact that its first reported use was Justinian's exaction of it from his officials. Although it was widely used—and its employment in the vernacular seems to have been rather more frequent in the Eastern Empire than in the Western—it is nonetheless a bookish imprecation, transmitted by the Church and most often found in connection with the Church, its affairs and its belongings. In the West it seems later not to be highly regarded—compare the German chronicler Menckenius with the Middle High German poet,—but in the East I have observed no evidence of its comparative importance. There it was doubtless used for what it may have been worth.

ARCHER TAYLOR.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY,  
 St. Louis, Mo.

<sup>2</sup> F. Bech, *Hartmann von Aue*, II (*Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters*, V), Leipzig, 1891, *Die Klage*, vss. 1421 ff. The passage is erroneously cited by Solovev (p. 116) as an example of the "Judas-lied," a mocking song about Judas which was popular during the Reformation. On the Judas-song see my discussion in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XIX (1920), 318-339.

<sup>3</sup> Solovev, p. 104, n. 1 (quoted from Th. D. Batiushkov, *Spor duši s tyelom*, 1891, pp. 230-231). See also Batiouchkof, "Le Débat de l'âme et du corps," *Romania*, XX (1891), 548 where the curse is not specifically mentioned as such in a brief summary of the Armenian text: "Elle [l'âme] lui [le corps] rappelle le sort de Caïn et de Judas." In order to be entirely certain about this passage it would be necessary to verify the reference to Batiushkov's book, but this I have been unable to do. Unfortunately the quotations made by Solovev are not always accurate.

### III.—VULGATE HOMERIC PAPYRI.

Since the publication of my articles<sup>1</sup> on the latest stages in the tradition of the Homeric poems, a number of papyri have been printed; to others, which were then inaccessible, I have now gained access; and, thanks to W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, pp. 478-480,<sup>2</sup> I have become aware of a number of omissions in my lists of papyri. The purpose of the present article is to use this additional material as a test for the theory that I have proposed of the origin of our Homeric text.

I feel that I can proceed immediately to this task without pausing to examine in detail the little investigation entitled *Zu den Homerpapiri* and published in BPhW. 36 (1916), Sp. 1281-1287, by Walter Müller with the intention of refuting this theory as known to him from the first of my articles.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Archetype of our Iliad and the Papyri*, American Journal of Philology 35 (1914) 125-148; *The Latest Expansions of the Iliad*, ibid. 37 (1916) 1-30; and *The Latest Expansions of the Odyssey*, ibid. 452-458. These will be cited hereafter simply by the pages.

<sup>2</sup> The best acknowledgment of my indebtedness is to point out the few serious faults I have found in this list. "¶ 22-447 3p Sächs G Wiss 1904" must be Δ 22-447 3p published by Blass in the Berichte (not the Abhandlungen) d. Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1904, p. 211. The following are omitted: P. Romanus N 143-150 1 a *Rendiconti della Accad. dei Lincei*, 2 (1893), p. 831, and the Aberdeen papyri, B 687-695, 760-778, Δ 199-211, H 60-68, I 356-376, ¶ 1-26, 58-65, X 265-272, *Class. Quart.* 1 (1907) 257 ff. What is described as a 'fragment' of ρ contains in reality 34 lines.

<sup>3</sup> Of the 22 passages employed by Müller to test my theory, one, the Catalogue of the Ships, is irrelevant (it shows merely that in antiquity as well as in the Middle Ages there were people who did not regard it as worth while to copy this section); another, E 83, is an error, no papyrus omitting the line; four more, published by the Società Italiana, will be treated in this article; while the remaining 16 were all discussed in my second article. A comparison of it will show that the reason Müller did not find here a confirmation of the theory was his failure to distinguish properly between the accidental and the significant omissions in the papyri—only Θ 183, X 363 and perhaps Γ 235 coming under the latter class. Of minor details I may gratefully note: B 168 is unquestionably omitted by P. Bodl. a 1(P); Δ 313 is not added by a second hand in P. Morgan (I should therefore shift it from the certain to the probable instances of surface corruption); N 46 is not added by

In general, however, I may point out that I do not date all these interpolations *im ausgehenden Altertum* or later. On the contrary I believe (cf. especially pp. 19 f., 20 f., 24, 30, 458) that the process of interpolation began almost immediately after the appearance of the vulgate in about 150 B. C. Consequently my expectation that a certain interpolation will not be found in the papyri is not based upon the belief that no copy of Homer containing that line was ever written before 600 A. D. My belief is that an interpolation—if it is of earlier date—had by the year 600 extended to so few copies of the poems that the chance of finding a papyrus containing it is extremely slight. This chance is not equal for all interpolations, but varies according to the date at which the interpolation was first made, and the date of the papyrus in question. Nor do I believe that the early copies would fall into two sharply marked classes, those with, and those without, interpolations. Rather would they vary from passage to passage; for each interpolation is a separate fact, and the whole process is to be conceived very much as Johannes Schmidt pictured in his *Wellentheorie* the rise and spread of linguistic changes.

The new material<sup>4</sup> gives us for the Odyssey 292 lines, for

a second hand in P. Brit. Mus. 732;  $\Sigma$  200-201, 427, and 441 are added in P. Brit. Mus. 107 by a second hand. I may add that the second hand of P. Oxy. 223 in correcting the accidental omission of E 75 has marked it to be inserted after E 83.

One passage must be criticised briefly. "Eine Nachprüfung ergibt jedoch eine Korrektur, indem nämlich an zwei Stellen ein Papyrus einen Vers auslässt, den ein anderer Papyrus doch bietet: B 168 fehlt in Pap. Mus. Br. 136 (read 126) und Pap. Bodl. a 1, steht dagegen in Pap. Soc. Ital. 137;  $\Theta$  6 fehlt in Pap. Goodspeed 7 (Washim), steht aber in Pap. Mus. Br. 136." As a matter of fact P. Soc. Ital. 137 omits B 168; while P. Brit. Mus. 136 does not contain the beginning of  $\Theta$  but only parts of  $\Gamma\Delta$ . One thinks naturally that this is a misprint for P. Brit. Mus. 736 (the only other papyrus covering the beginning of  $\Theta$ ), but this also omits the line in question. The material brought to refute my statement serves but to support it.

<sup>4</sup>For abbreviations not used previously, cf. Schubart. The following papyri are mentioned so briefly that it is impossible to use them: Fragg. ABA $\Theta$ AP Ken P 139 | Fragg.  $\Theta$  2  $\alpha$  Arch Rep 95/6 p. 17 | Fragg. o Sayce Ac 1894 May 12 p. 401. That condition is approximated by A 298-333 1/2 p P Bodl e 58, but I have assumed that any important omission would have been mentioned in Ken P 139. Two papyri are still inac-



189 of which papyrus evidence was previously not available.\* My list II<sup>a</sup> of certain interpolations (p. 453) is tested but at three points ρ 233<sup>a</sup> (Ac B Lettres 1905) ρ 603<sup>a</sup> (Oxy VI 955) and ψ 320 (Oxy VI 956). All three of these lines are omitted; the omission of ψ 320 by P. Ryl. 53 had previously (p. 456) been observed. These papyri afford no test of list II<sup>b</sup> (p. 453) of probable interpolations. They test list III (p. 454) at four points ι 361, 406 (Oxy XI 1396), ρ 601, σ 39 (Oxy VI 955); and always, like those previously employed, contain the line in question, thus confirming my conclusion (p. 457) that the list is surface corruption. No other lines are omitted by these papyri, nor are there any cases of additions or transpositions of lines. The evidence is thus exactly what my theory demands.\*

Of the Iliad this additional material contains 1223 lines, of which 260 had not been previously found in papyri.<sup>†</sup>

ceasible: B 494-678 6p Cairo Byz II 141, and the Vienna portions of P Brit Mus 271 containing parts of the third book of the Odyssey.

<sup>a</sup> α 266-276 296-307 5p Oxy XI 1394 | γ 435-449 1p Soc It II 122 | δ 97-100 197-204 222-224 248-261 2p Oxy VI 953 | ε 106-113 1p Soc It I 8 | ζ 146-171 2p Hal 5b | η 264-75 294-305 4p Oxy XI 1396 | θ 358-361 364 405-408 410-412 5p Oxy XI 1396 | μ 342-352 h Hal 5a | ξ 299-303 328-332 4/5p Oxy VI 954 | ο 329-333 362-366 4/5p Soc It I 9 | ρ 200-209 228-234 301-308 324-332 4p Ac B Lettres 1905 p. 215 | σ 601-606 3p Oxy VI 955 | τ 27-40 3p Oxy VI 955 | υ 67. 70 5p Oxy XI 1397 | φ 356-367 3p Oxy XI 1398 | ψ 309-326 342-356 2/3p Oxy VI 956 | ω 421-445 2/3p Soc It II 115.

\* I may note in passing that Landwehr, *Phil.* 44 p. 586, argues that in the papyrus there published some verses between ξ 87 and ξ 373 were omitted. His suggestion that these were 159, 162-164, lines attacked by the Alexandrian critics, can now be definitely rejected. The space is too large, cf. Blass, *Itp.* p. 153, to permit exact calculation; but it is hardly a mere coincidence that I have designated ξ 369-370 as certain interpolations.

<sup>†</sup> A 129-150 2p P Brit Mus 272 | 173-187 2p Freib 5 | 298-333 1/2p P Bodl e 58(f) | 357 413 439-479 (457-458 inferred) 492-493 503-514 5p Soc It II 113 | B 158-174 179 (implied) 3p Soc It II 137 | 220-223 1p Arch V 379 | 381-392 2p Lefebvre | 444-446 456-467 5p Oxy XI 1385 | 836-852 864-877 2/3p P Brit Mus 886 | Δ 22-49 79-100 424-447 3p Blass, *Ber Sächs Gesell* 1904, 211 | 50-66 4/5p Soc It I 11 | 257-271 3p Oxy XI 1386 | E 206-224 2p Oxy XI 1387 | 265-289 3/4p P Berol 11636 (from facsimile AB 1913 p. 219, the reverse is said to contain 287-317) | 554-561 566-569 601-610 (and two fragments) 3p Wess Stud V | Z 133-150 156-160 1a Oxy XI 1388 | H 182-194 218-230 250-255 285-289

In this material there are a number of 'surface corruptions.' For the confusion affecting A 357 456-458 505-507 511 in P. Soc. It. 113; I 4 in BCH 28; A 603-604 610 in P. Tebt. 266; A 637-641 in P. Oxy. XI 1391; and A 642-644 648-649 in P. Soc. It. 10 reference to the original publications may suffice.<sup>8</sup> The other examples are: Δ 55 om. it. P. Soc. It. 11 add. im. m. 2.<sup>9</sup>—H 358 post vm. 359 iteravit P. Soc. It. 114 (dittography . . . ἀγορεύεις, . . . ἀγορεύεις)—K 258-261 om. P. Soc. It. 13 (hapl. . . . ἔθηκε, . . . ἔθηκε)—Λ 639 om. P. Soc. It. 10, il. add. m. 1—M 27/28 om. P. Soc. It. 10, im. corr. m. 1<sup>10</sup>—N 800 om. P. Soc. It. 10 (hapl. . . . ἄλλα, . . . ἄλλοι)—Σ 617 cum. v. l. iteravit Mel. Nic.—X 24-26 om. P. Soc. It. 139 (hapl. . . . πεδίω, . . . πεδίω)—Ψ 140 om. it., add. im. P. Soc. It. 140. Wherever other papyri can be compared, this corruption does not of course appear.<sup>11</sup>

With the exception of a single passage to be discussed later, my list (pp. 8-12) of passages to be judged interpolations because of the manuscript evidence is tested but at seven points:

4p Oxy XI 1389 | 355-371 5p Soc It II 114 | Θ 1-22 49-52 63-65 95 98-109 111-120 128-135 139-144 150-163 173-192 2/3p P Brit Mus 736 | 451-456 486-491 4p Soc It I 10 | I 1-7 r BCH 28. 207 f. | 287-296 325-331 5p Oxy XI 1390 | 575-585 608-619 4p Soc It I 12 | K 199-221 237-263 3p Soc It I 13 | Λ 464-466 515-517 4p Soc It II 138 | 526-528 566-569 597-602 634-641 5p Oxy XI 1391 | 556-613 2p P Tebt 266 | 578-581 607-614 628-649 660-672 4p Soc It I 10 | M 3-16 23-47 53-63 136-140 166-170 4p Soc It I 10 | N 545-559 1p P Berol 11516. (Schubart, Taf. I) | 751-780 786-813 4p Soc It I 10 | O 303-325 3p Oxy XI 1392 | II 157-170 191-203 5p Oxy XI 1393 | P 102-115 142-152 P Rainer 533 (Führer p. 127) | Σ 76-99 (some inferred) 112-135 4/5p Soc It I 14 | 574-579 615-617 4/5p Mel Nic 222 | X 1-17 22-38 2/3p Soc It II 139 | 449-474 P Brit Mus 1811 | Ψ 63-88 93-97 126-147 152-156 3p Soc It II 140 | 485-491 499-509 2/3p Soc It II 141.

\* The editors consider the possibility of 'plus' verses in P. Tebt. 266, P. Oxy. 1391 which seems to me improbable. Accordingly, I do not now, as formerly (p. 128), regard P. Tebt. 266 as akin to the Ptolemaic text.

\* So also Ludwich's N<sup>b</sup>; there can be no connection with Aristarchus' athetesis of vv. 55-56.

\* Editor does not see quite clearly, but the trouble was due to haplography from χέλειςσι to κύμασι.

<sup>11</sup> For A cf. P. Fayum 141, P. Greco-Egiz. 106, P. Berol. 9854, P. Ryl. 44, P. Bodl. a 1; for Δ P. Morgan; for H 358 P. Oxy. 547; for M 27/28, N 800 P. Morgan; for Σ 617 PP. Brit. Mus. 107, 127.

Α 463<sup>a</sup> (P. Soc. It. 113), Β 168 (P. Soc. It. 137), Η 368-369 (P. Soc. It. 114), Θ 183 (P. Brit. Mus. 736), Ν 808<sup>a</sup> (P. Soc. It. 10), Ρ 145<sup>a</sup> (P. Rainer 533) and Χ 10<sup>a</sup> (P. Soc. It. 139). All seven of these passages are omitted by these papyri. Six of them are omitted also by papyri previously employed: Α 463<sup>a</sup> by P. Berol. 7495, and (probably) P. Greco-Egiz. 106; Β 168 by P. Brit. Mus. 126 and P. Bodl. a 1; Θ 183 by P. Fayum 210; Ν 808<sup>a</sup> by P. Morgan; Ρ 145<sup>a</sup> (probably) by P. Berol. 230; and Χ 10<sup>a</sup> by P. Oxy. 559. For the remaining passage Η 368-369 papyrus evidence has not hitherto been available. The second list (pp. 12-13), in which the disturbance of the manuscripts is not so marked, is tested but at one point: Θ 6 is omitted by P. Brit. Mus. 736 as it was previously by P. Goodspeed 7. On pp. 22-23 I have given lists of lines omitted in papyri accidentally; wherever the new papyri come into question, they contain these lines. Β 842 is found in P. Brit. Mus. 886; Α 560, 595 in P. Tebt. 266; Σ 132 in P. Soc. It. 14; Ξ 577 in P. Mel. Nic.; and Α 178 in P. Freib. 5.

So far then the new evidence has conformed to my theory exactly, and there remains but one passage. Nestor in telling Patroclus of the misfortune of the Greeks says:

Α 660 βέβληται μὲν ὁ Τυδείδης κρατερὸς Διομήδης,  
οὔτασται δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἤδ' Ἀγαμέμνων ·  
βέβληται δὲ καὶ Εὐρύπυλος κατὰ μηρὸν δίστοφ—

and the same words are afterwards (II 25-27) used by Patroclus to Achilles. Now in II the last line makes difficulty enough;<sup>12</sup> but in Α it is obviously much worse, and there it is generally regarded as a late intruder from II. There is nothing to show that the scholiasts knew the line in Α, while according to Duentzer, *Hom. Abh.* p. 65, it is ignored even by Eustathius. The manuscript evidence for it here is slight, consisting according to Ludwig only of J, a thirteenth-century manuscript, and of others still later. Under these circumstances it was surprising to find the line in P. Morgan, and it is still more surprising to find it again in P. Soc. It. 10. The disturbance in the manuscripts is too great to permit the explanation that the interpolation was made at an extremely early date, and had become

<sup>12</sup> Cf. most recently Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, p. 118.

fairly wide-spread by the fourth century. Personally I believe that a whim of fortune has here saved for us two representatives of a small minority, while leaving the majority unrepresented;<sup>13</sup> others may see in this a mere cutting of the knot.

In this connection I should like to point out an additional reason for believing that in about 150 B. C. there was a revolution in the publication of the Homeric text. The fact, first observed by Grenfell and Hunt, *Hibeh Papyri*, pp. 67-75, that the text then changes suddenly from a longer to a shorter version, is now generally recognized. The papyrus evidence strongly indicates also that the new text introduced a new peculiarity of form—the division of each poem into twenty-four books. After 150 B. C. there are a number of papyri which show the book division exactly as it is familiar to us; while, so far as my memory serves, there is not one for which we have reason to believe that its text was not so divided. Before that date the situation is reversed. Of earlier papyri, seven (eight if the Rylands papyrus of II is distinct) have been published, and in none is there a trace of the division into books. On the contrary, there is no division between A and M in the Geneva papyrus, nor between X and Ψ in P. Hibeh 22; while in P. Hibeh 21 considerations of space point strongly to the conclusion that H and Θ were similarly joined. I have shown that the new text came from the edition of Aristarchus, and it is natural to assign to the same source the division into books.

Whether this division is original with Aristarchus is another question. If so, I should not regard it with Ludwich, AHT II 220 n., as a crime, but as a service. There is a tradition which ascribes it to Aristarchus, cf. Wolf, *Proleg.* p. 256, and no cogent reason for distrusting it. The argument in favor of Zenodotus from the close of the Odyssey, cf. Lachmann, *Be-trachtungen*, p. 93, Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unt.*, p. 369 n., breaks down upon examination;<sup>14</sup> and so does the argument from the close of H—cf. Lachmann, Ludwich, *loc. cit.*—against

<sup>13</sup> Who would expect a papyrus to be published under the number of the line it accidentally omits? Yet P. Soc. It. 140 omits Ψ 140.

<sup>14</sup> The notion that the text of Aristarchus actually ended with ψ 296 must be definitely abandoned. Had it done so, the vulgate would have stopped with the same line.

Zenodotus. In spite of the claims of Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, p. 32 n., the papyrus evidence is of no aid in deciding between Zenodotus and Aristarchus, although it is amply sufficient to refute those who hold that the book division existed *semper et ubique*.

When the papyri discoveries began it was natural to look, as Kenyon, Landwehr and others did, for a relation between omissions in the papyri and atheteses of the Alexandrian critics. The expectation found no fulfilment;<sup>18</sup> and the subsequent reaction has tended towards a denial of the value of these variants. That tendency was aided by two facts: the papyrus evidence was rated piece by piece, and the significant omissions were obscured by the surface corruption. By setting aside the latter and by studying the problem as a whole I have previously shown a high degree of correlation between three classes of facts: 1) the significant omissions in the papyri; 2) fluctuations in the manuscript testimony; and 3) positive or negative indications that the lines were not in the edition of Aristarchus. The material here presented has tested this correlation severely; for the question has been whether the known facts of the second and third class would permit a forecast of the significant omissions to be found in papyri covering some 1500 lines. The test has resulted in a way which can, I believe, leave no doubt of the reality of this correlation. If so, it demands an explanation. The hypothesis that our vulgate began by agreeing line for line with the edition of Aristarchus, and afterwards suffered interpolation, is in itself most probable. It is, besides, the only one that can account for the correlation observed.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

<sup>18</sup> Yet the hope has lingered, so that, as late as 1914, Aly thought it worth while to point out that P. Freib. 5 contained A 177, a line athetized by Aristarchus.

#### IV.—THE TIME-MEANING OF THE *TO*-PARTICIPLE IN VERGIL.

In June, 1918, the present writer had the honour of contributing to this Journal an article on the *to-participle with the Accusative in Latin*. Several scholars suggested then that a detailed investigation of the time-meaning of the same form in Latin writers and especially in Vergil would prove an interesting and profitable study. Thinking over Vergil, we recall many instances of the *to-participle* used with a meaning that we should certainly assign to the present tense:

(a) It is used to denote contemporaneous action, as Aen. ii. 220-1 ille simul manibus tendit diuellere nodos | *perfusus* sanie uittas atroque ueneno; ib. iii. 256-7 uos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis | *ambesas* subigat malis absumere mensas; ib. x. 894 (Mezentius' horse throws his rider and pins him to the ground and then) *iecto*que incumbit cernuus armo (the shoulder is dislocated with the fall); ib. viii. 407 prima quies medio iam noctis *abactae* | curriculo expulerat somnum; xi. 877 e speculis *percussae* pectora matres | femineum clamorem ad caeli sidera tollunt; ib. xii. 605-7 filia prima manu flores Lauinia crinis | et roseas *laniata* genas, tum cetera circum | turba furit (cf. Aen. i. 228, 481; xii. 65); ib. iv. 9 quae me *suspensam* insomnia terrent!; Buc. iii. 106 dic quibus in terris *inscripti* nomina regum | nascantur flores (the two actions take place together; the flowers put on, as they grow, as inscriptions the names of kings [see Amer. Jour. Phil. 1918, p. 190]); ib. i. 54 hinc tibi quae semper uicino ab limite saepes | Hyblaeis apibus florem *depasta* salicti | saepe leui somnum suadebit inire susurro; Georg. i. 494 agricola incuruo terram *molitus* aratro | exesa inueniet scabra robigine pila; ib. i. 293 interea longum cantu *solata* laborem | arguto coniunx percurrit pectine telas; ib. i. 206 quibus in patriam uentosa per aequora *uectis* | Pontus et ostriferi fauces temptantur Abydi; ib. iv. 120-1 quo . . . modo potis gauderent intiba riuus | . . . . . *tortus*que per herbam | cresceret in uentrem cucumis.

(b) It is used to denote an attempted or repeated action, as Aen. i. 29 his accensa super *iactatos* aequore toto | Troas, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli, | arcebat longe Latio,

where *iactatos* means 'continually tossed'; ib. iii. 125 *pelagoque uolamus | bacchatamque iugis Naxum* (cf. Georg. ii. 487); ib. viii. 368 *angusti subter fastigia tecti | ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locauit | effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae*; ib. vi. 22 *stat ductis sortibus urna* gives a picture of the lots 'being drawn.'

(c) It is used in a general reference, as Buc. i. 49 *non insueta grauis temptabunt pabula fetas* (*fetas* probably is derived from a 'participle' meaning 'those that bear'); Georg. iv. 139 *ergo apibus fetis idem atque examine multo | primus abundare*. Very similar is the common type in expressions like *uir laudatus* 'he who is praised,' 'a praiseworthy man' *inuietus* 'who is not conquered,' 'invincible.' We may compare exactly Skr. *śrutāḥ* 'famous,' Grk. *κλυτός* etc.

These are undoubted instances of the present meaning of the *to*-form; there are others in Vergil. Some, however, are not so obvious or so easy to appreciate; the most interesting of those we shall deal with below. This subject can by no means be reckoned among mere philological *minutiae*; for the right understanding of the *to*-form is often of high literary value and sometimes essential for the full appreciation of the poet. We must acknowledge from the beginning the difficulty of discussing tense; it is only less difficult than mood. Even in considering a real tense formative we have to take account of the meaning of the verbal root in special instances—whether it shows imperfective or perfective, progressive or instantaneous action. In the present thesis we are dealing with a form which originally had no connexion with tense and one of which we more or less understand the current uses in the various languages in historical times and of which we can conjecture the origin by a comparison of the languages; but of its intermediate history we know nothing except what can be gathered from uses in writers, which appear to be taken from an earlier stratum of the language.

The other Italic dialects and the earliest records of Latin itself afford no help; the general use of the *to*-form with a past meaning was already common in the Italic period. On the other hand in connexion with the so-called deponent verbs the *to*-participle has, as everybody knows, a freer use; it is quite *timeless*, and is as often present as past in meaning. Many examples of the present meaning both in the earlier poets and in prose

writers occur to us, as Plaut. *Amph.* 290, *Asin.* 640 (*complexus*), *Rud.* 560 (*amplexus*), etc., Cic. *Pro Murena* 30, and such pure presents as *incenatus* (Plaut. *Trin.* 473), *iuratus* (Plaut. *Poen.* 736, *Pseud.* 792, *Rud.* 48) and such adjectives as *cerritus*, *exercitus*, *ignotus*. The *to*-participle from deponent verbs occurs also with a past meaning from the earliest historical times, as Ennius (Ernout, *Recueil de textes latins archaïques*, p. 149) *hinc campum celeri passu permensa parumper | conicit in siluam sese*; cf. Vergil *Aen.* xi. 283, xii. 510, vii. 668, xi. 487. This freedom from tense restriction in deponents like their freedom in matters of voice (for the passive use cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 196, *Miles Glor.* 903, *Pers.* 465, 466, *Pseud.* 941, etc.) represents, no doubt, the original condition of the *to*-form. The Vergilian examples, which are quoted above, are exactly similar and, as we shall see, are of interest in the history of the form.

The foregoing examination of the time-meaning of the *to*-participle confirms what we know of its origin. It is not found consistently appended to any special stem or tense formation; it is in fact often added to mere roots, as in *datus* from \**deto*-, *actus* from \**agto*-, *rectus* from \**regto*- etc. Moreover, as Brugmann has pointed out (*Indogerm. Forschungen* V. p. 92), the real perfect tense often has a different form from the *to*-participle; cf. *dedi* (*datus*), *egi* (*actus*), etc. The connexion between the *to*-form and the perfect tense in Sanskrit and the Italic languages was in the beginning accidental (cf. *Amer. Jour. Phil.* 1918, p. 186) and grew up gradually in course of time. Examples like *sensus*, *farsus*, *hausus*, etc. show formal attraction and have their origin in a later period. Further, the history of the suffix *-to*- cannot be separated from that of *-t-*, which we see e. g. in *comit-*, Skr. *samit-* etc., and from that of *-ito*- (e. g., Skr. *darśitāḥ*, Goth. *gatarhips*, perhaps Lat. *monitus*, etc.). In Greek the *to*-form remained independent of the verb as the numerous adjectives in *-τος* show, as *ἀγαστός*, *ἀγῆρός*, *λωβητός*, *ἀνάπνυτος*, *βουλητός*, *ἐπιστητός*, *θεατός*, *ιατός*, *ἀμφίκλυστος* (*ἀκτί*), etc. In Sanskrit too we have quasi-adjectival and timeless words ending in *-tāḥ*, as *īhitāḥ*, 'aimed at,' 'desired,' *bādhitāḥ*, 'hard-pressed,' *labdhāḥ* 'obtained,' as well as pure adjectives such as *trṣṭāḥ* 'rough,' *śītāḥ* 'cold,' *dr̥dhāḥ* 'firm,' *ṛtāḥ* 'right,' etc. In the Italic languages also the *-to*- suffix is found with a good many adjectives, as Lat. *sanctus*, Osc. *saah̄tūm*, Latin *certus*, Osc. *trutas*; Lat. *tacitus*, Umbr. *taçez*, *tasetur*, etc.



At this point it may be possible to discuss some of the more difficult examples of the *to*-participle in Vergil from the point of view of the time-meaning. In many instances we shall gain much appreciation of the true picturesque effect, if we read the poetry with a proper understanding of the *to*-form and unprejudiced by the stilted grammar which we learned in our childhood. Let us notice some passages: at Aen. i. 480 *crinibus Iliades passis* peplum . . . ferebant | suppliciter, *passis* denotes imperfective action and means 'outspreading,' or 'flowing'; ib. v. 317 *limen . . . relinquunt | effusi* nimbo similes surely *effusi* is present in meaning and recalls to us the picture of the continuous changing movement of a cloud; cf. Aen. xii. 131; at Georg. iv. 337 *caesariem effusae* nitidam per candida colla similarly *effusae* is present in force and means 'waving'—the continual 'ripple' of their hair; at Buc. vi. 53 *ille latus niueum molli fultus* hyacintho | ilice sub nigra pallentis ruminat herbas the participle *fultus* is hardly past but rather imperfective (cf. Aen. viii. 368 quoted above); at Aen. ii. 693 *de caelo lapsa* per umbras | stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit the participle is, of course, from a deponent verb; but it is a very good example of the present meaning; cf. Aen. v. 86 and iv. 395 (*multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus* amore | iussa tamen diuum exsequitur), where *labefactus* is exactly parallel and joined by *-que* to *gemens*; with the last example cf. Aen. viii. 390 where *labefacta* is present and passive; at Aen. iv. 666 *concussam* bacchatur Fama per urbem the verb and the participle are clearly contemporaneous; at Aen. iv. 589 *terque quaterque manu pectus percussa* decorum | flauentisque *abscissa* comas 'pro Juppiter! ibit | hic' ait the effect is enlivened if we interpret the participle as contemporaneous with *ait* and *terque quaterque* as merely 'several times'; probably too at Aen. i. 32 (cf. 333) *errabant acti* means 'they wandered under compulsion from time to time' that is *acti* is really imperfective; at Aen. i. 246 (the stream of Timavus) *it mare proruptum et pelago premit arua sonanti* the true reading is certainly *proruptum*, which means simply 'onrushing' and is present tense with a general reference. Such purely descriptive and timeless uses as Aen. x. 157 *Aeneia puppis | prima tenet rostro Phrygios subiuncta* leones are well-known and need not be quoted here. It is an interesting fact and a strong argument for the value of pure

linguistic study that we cannot fully appreciate in the literary sense the language of one of the greatest poets and perhaps the greatest literary artist of all time without knowledge of the older usages of the language. Not only in the *to*-participle but also in other matters we must revert to an earlier stratum of the language, if we would fully understand many of those turns of language which contribute so much to the poet's art. Vergil shows the same sensitive appreciation and understanding of the earlier language, as he does of the beliefs and customs of his remote Italian ancestors. If Philology and Historical Grammar can help us to a better understanding of a single verse of the poet, they are truly no longer to be regarded as barren studies!

The question naturally arises here as to how far Vergil's use of the *to*-form is archaic and how far a neologism. It is impossible to give any answer that can be supported by sure proofs, because, as we have already observed, there is no evidence of the continuous history of the form. The origin of the form and the comparison with its use in deponent verbs, however, make it fairly certain that Vergil's use is in origin at least an archaism. This is not the view of all grammarians and philologists; for instance Riemann and Goelzer in their discussion of the participle of deponent verbs (*Grammaire comparée du grec et du latin: syntaxe* p. 295) try to argue that the present sense often comes from the idea of 'entry into a state' and compare the Greek aorist with verbs of a perfective root meaning. From the point of view of the origin of the *to*-participle this seems entirely wrong. They have yet to prove that the present occurs only with perfective verbs; the examples which we have quoted from Vergil do not support such a theory and there is no ground for invoking the aid of analogy here! Vergil's use is rather a remnant of the loose unattached sense of the *to*-form.

CLARA M. KNIGHT.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, KINGS COLLEGE.

## V.—DRAVIDIAN NOTES.

English often treats *n* and *l* as vowels: *hidn ridl* (written *hidden riddle*). Similar vowel-consonants were probably common in early Dravidian. A stressless vowel-*n* seems to have made *i* in Brâhui *sir-* (await) < \**sñd-* < \**snud-*, beside the stressed development *hur-* (look) < \**snur-* < \**snud-*; and *ē* in Kurukh *ēr-* (see) < \**hēr-* < \**sēd-* < \**sñd-* < \**snud-*, beside the stressed development in Malto *tunḍ-* (see) < \**tunḍ-* < \**stunḍ-* < \**snunḍ-* < \**snud-*. The change of *n* to an oral vowel was presumably earlier than that of *sn* to *st* before vowels. Tamil has the same vowel in *nōṭṭam* (examination) < \**snōḍḍans*, *nōkk-* (look at) < \**snōḍḍg-*, as in *ōr-* (examine) < \**sōr-* < \**sñd-*; an early consonant-group produced shortening in Tamil *ottr-* (examine, look for, spy out) < \**sortt-*, representing \**sōr-* < \**sñd-* combined with a *t*-suffix. From the derivatives of \**snud-*, \**snūḍ-*, \**snauḍ-*, it appears that initial *sn* regularly gave Brâhui *h* < *hN* < *sN*, Gôndi *h* < *s* < *sN*, Kui *s* < *sN*, Kurukh and Malto *t* < *st* < *sN*, Kanara and Tamil *n*, Telugu *t*, Tulu *t* (with the dialectal variants *s* and *h*).<sup>1</sup>

A vowel-*l* may be assumed for the root of Brâhui *hin-*, Gôndi *han-*, *ha-*, Kui *sal-*, *sa-* (go). Brâhui keeps *s* before dorsal vowels, as in *sal-* — Malto *il-* (stand); but *s* became *h* in *hin-* < \**sln-*, corresponding to *h* < *sn* in *hur-*. The difference between Brâhui *sir* and *hin* shows that dorsal vowels were developed from nasals earlier than from *l*: the *s* of \**sln-* became *h* after a dorsal vowel had replaced the *n* of \**sñd-*. Similarly Sanskrit has *a* for vowel-nasals, but keeps vowel-*r* and vowel-*l*. The *i* of *hin-*, beside Gôndi *a* and Kui *a*, seems to have come from the closing-influence of nasality, as seen in the Brâhui pronoun *i* — Kurukh-Malto *ēn*, Tamil *jān* (I) < \**ēn*. Gôndi has regularly changed *s* to *h*, so that we might assume *han-* < \**hln-*, or *han-* < \**san-* < \**sln-*. But it is probable that Gôndi and Kui both developed \**saln-* < \**sln-*.

NORTH HAVEN, CONN.

EDWIN H. TUTTLE.

<sup>1</sup> American Journal of Philology, vol. 40, p. 64. *N* means voiceless *n*; *j* = Dutch *j*, Italian *j* in *aja*. A subscript dot marks reverted linguals. In my article on Dravidian *s*, the dot is lacking under *s*, p. 79, l. 17; under the *r* of Kanara *karte*, p. 79, l. 9, Tamil *aṛaḷ*, p. 81, l. 18, Kanara *aṛaḷ*, p. 81, l. 21, Tamil *ēru*, p. 82, l. 32, and under the *l* of Tamil *niḷ*, p. 84, bottom. A length-mark is needed over the second *r* in l. 15 of p. 80, and over the first *r* in l. 12 of p. 81.

## VI.—I. T.—TRANSLATOR OF BOETHIUS.

H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand in the Introduction to their recent scholarly edition (1918) of Boethius' *Theological Tractates* and the *Consolation of Philosophy* incline to identify 'I. T.,' whose rendering of the *Consolation* they have used, with John Thorie, a Fleming born in London in 1568, and a B. A. of Christ Church, 1586. 'Thorie,' they assert, "'was a person well skilled in certain tongues, and a noted poet of his times," but his known translations are apparently all from the Spanish.' In preparation at Cornell University for writing my Master's essay (1920), the *Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius in English Literature*, I found no reason to accept Thorie. I venture, however, to suggest John Thorpe, a noted architect and surveyor, who supplied the plans for the renovation of the house on the property that came to Thomas Sackville, the Earl of Dorset, in 1603. Now 'I. T.' dedicated his 'Five books of Philosophical Comfort' to the Dowager Countess of Dorset, widow of Thomas Sackville, who, he tells us, meditated a similar work. It is evident, therefore, that some connection existed between 'I. T.' and Thomas Sackville.

That Thorpe was a man of learning and ability in letters as well as a surveyor and architect may be gathered from Henry Peacham, who mentions him in the *Gentleman's Exercise* (ed. of 1634, pp. 172-3) as his especial friend, 'an excellent Geometrician and Surveior,' a man 'not only learned and ingenious himself, but a furtherer and favourer of all excellency whatsoever.'

A further clue comes through the delight we know John Thorpe to have gained in playing with his initials. Among his papers 'there is a curious design of a house built for himself, the ground-plan of which forms the letters I. T., connected by a low corridor, with the rhyming inscription:

"Thes 2 letters I and T, Joyned together as you see, is meant for a dwelling house for me. John Thorpe."'<sup>1</sup>

Thorpe flourished between 1570-1610.

Accordingly, my hypothesis is that it was John Thorpe who translated the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, perhaps as a diversion, and dedicated it to the widow of his former friend and employer, Thomas Sackville, in the hour of her bereavement.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA.

G. BAYLEY DOLSON.

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, 56, 319.

## REPORTS.

ROMANIA, Vol. XLV (1918-1919).

Janvier 1918—Janvier 1919.

Ferdinand Lot. Nouvelles études sur le cycle arthurien. I. Une source de la Vita Merlini: Les Etymologiæ d'Isidore de Séville. II. La Vita Merlini source du Perceval de Robert de Boron. 22 pages. The mediæval writer did not use the classical authors directly, but through the mediation of the famous Spanish scholar. His work in its turn became the source of the late French prose romance.

Ernest Langlois. Le traité de Gerson contre le Roman de la Rose. 26 pages. This treatise is dated May 18, 1402, and it is one of fifteen documents bearing on the mediæval controversy over the celebrated romance. A Latin translation of this text is also extant and has been frequently published, the French original is printed here for the first time and three manuscripts have been used in establishing the text.

Arthur Långfors. Jacques Bruyant et son poème la Voie de Povreté et de Richesse. 35 pages. This rather mediocre imitation of the Roman de la Rose has been preserved to us in eleven manuscripts, one of which is now in the library of Mr. George C. Thomas of Philadelphia. This manuscript contains forty-six miniatures, and in 1909 it formed the basis of a privately printed book of great beauty.

C. Brunel. Formes absolues et formes conjointes du pronom personnel dans l'ancien dialecte du Gévaudan. 10 pages. The region here studied is in the Provençal territory of Southern France, and numerous charts have been consulted by the author.

Mélanges. G. Huet, Les sources de la Manekine de Philippe de Beaumanoir. A. Långfors, Le dit de Dame Jouenne, version inédite du fabliau du Pré tondu. J. Anglade, Notice sur un manuscrit de Ugo d'Alvernia. Giulio Bertoni, Lettori di romanzi francesi nel quattrocento alla corte estense.

Comptes rendus. A. Meillet, Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle (Lucien Foulet). E. Tappolet, Die alemannischen Lehnwörter in den Mundarten der französischen Schweiz (Albert Dauzat). Kr. Nyrop, Manuel phonétique du français parlé, traduit et remanié par Emmanuel Philipot. 3<sup>e</sup> éd. (Lucien Foulet). Le roman de Phlorios et Platzia Phlore, p. p. P. C. Hesseling (G. Huet). John Orr, Les œuvres de Guiot de Provins, poète lyrique et satirique (Arthur Långfors). F. C. Ostrander, Li Romans dou Lis (Arthur Långfors). Bertran de Marseille, La Vie de sainte Enimie, poème provençal du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, éd. p. Clovis Brunel (A. Jeanroy).

Périodiques. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, CXXXII (1914), fasc. 3 et 4 (Arthur Långfors). Literaturblatt für Germanische und Romanische Philologie, XXXVII, 1916 (suite) (E. M.). Revue des Langues romanes, t. LVII (VI<sup>e</sup> série, t. VII), 1914; t. LVIII (1915), fasc. 1-2, 3-4, 5-6 (A. Långfors). Romanic Review, I (1910), 1-4; II (1911), 1-4 (M. R.: La Romania est en retard pour rendre compte de cet intéressant recueil . . . Nous ferons effort pour regagner le temps perdu et pour assurer la régularité de ces comptes rendus . . .

Chronique. Irregularity of publication of the Romania was due to the war. Funeral of M. Paul Meyer, Sept. 11, 1917, with long list of commemorative articles. Death and biographical sketch of Emile Picot.

Collections et publications en cours. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes (sciences historiques et philologiques), 212. Les aires morphologiques dans les parlers populaires du nord-ouest de l'Angoumois, par Adolphe Terracher; 1914, xiv + 452 pages.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 13 titles. The Gloria d'amor of Fra Rocaberti: A Catalan Vision-Poem of the 15th Century edited with introduction, notes and glossary by H. C. Heaton, Ph. D., assistant professor of Romance languages in the New York University. New York, Columbia University Press, 1916.

Avril 1919.

J. Anglade. La rédaction rimée des Leys d'amors, ou les Flors del gay saber. 18 pages. The manuscript containing this disappeared during the Barcelona uprising of 1836, and it is only recently that it has been found again in a private library in Madrid. The entire poem comprises about 7500 lines, and it is only a few extracts of special interest that are here published for the first time.

Jean Haust. Etymologies françaises et wallonnes. 15 pages. The etymologies of six words and groups of words are here given, especial attention being paid to the group of words represented in French by Hure.

G. Huet. La légende de la Montagne d'Aimant dans le roman de Berinus, nouvelles recherches. 11 pages. The story in question is here traced back to India, and several German parallels in the Middle Ages are also cited.

Arthur Långfors. Dou vrai chiment d'amours, une nouvelle source de Venus la deesse d'amor. 15 pages. Critical edition of the text, preceded by a short introduction.

Lucien Foulet. Etudes de syntaxe française. I. Quelque. 30 pages. This article discusses the syntactical development of this common French word from the earliest times down to the present day.

Mélanges. Albert Dauzat, \*Gaba et ses dérivés. Ernest Langlois, Manser. L. Clédât, "Ne garder l'eure." G. Bertonì, Una cobbola provenzale di un poeta italiano contro Carlo d'Angiò. A. Långfors, Une énigme dans le Liber fortunæ. A. Långfors, Simon, auteur de la Chronique de Floreffe. J. Druon, Anc. fr. Bémi.

Comptes rendus. Hugo Schuchardt, Die romanischen Lehnwörter im Berberischen (J. Jud). Max Niedermann, Essais d'étymologie et de critique verbale latines (J. Jud). Attilio Levi, Le palatali piemontesi (J. Jud). Maurice Grammont, Traité pratique de prononciation française (Lucien Foulet). Kr. Nyrop, Kongruens i Fransk (Lucien Foulet). Le Roman de la Rose, par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, p. p. Ernest Langlois. T. 1<sup>er</sup>: Introduction (Arthur Långfors).

Périodiques. Archivio storico sardo, tome XI (1915) (J. Jud). Giornale storico della letteratura italiana, t. LXV (1915, 1<sup>er</sup> semestre), fasc. 193-4-5; t. LXVI (1915, 2<sup>e</sup> semestre), fasc. 196-8; t. LXVII (1916, 1<sup>er</sup> semestre), fasc. 199-201; t. LXVIII (1916, 2<sup>e</sup> semestre), fasc. 202-4; t. LXIX (1917, 1<sup>er</sup> semestre), fasc. 205-7; t. LXX (1917, 2<sup>e</sup> semestre), fasc. 208-10 (A. J.). Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, XXXVIII, 1917 (E. M.). Revista de filologia española, t. I (1914), fasc. 2; I (1914), 3; I (1914), 4; t. II (1915), fasc. 1; II (1915), 2; II (1915), 3; II (1915), 4 (E. S.). The Romanic Review, III (1912), 1; III, 2-3; III, 4; IV (1913), 1; IV, 2; IV, 3; IV, 4 (M. R.).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Michel Bréal and Jean Druon. Publications annoncées. Collections et publications en cours.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 21 titles. Cornell University Library. Catalogue of the Petrarch Collection bequeathed by Willard Fiske compiled by Mary Fowler (M. R.: "publication méritoire"). Dantis Alagherii operum latinorum concordantiae, curante Societate Dantea quae est Cantabrigiae in Nova Anglia ediderunt Eduardus Kennard Rand et Ernestus Hatch Wilkins quos adjuvit Alanus Campbell White.

Juillet-Octobre 1919.

Ernest Langlois. Remarques sur les chansonniers français. I. A propos de Gautier de Dargies. II. Perrin d'Angicourt et R 1665. III. Les trouvères Sandrart Chertain et Jehan Léger. IV. Hue le Chatelain d'Arras et les chansons R 140 et R 308. V. La chanson R 1135. 30 pages. The author of this article discusses various questions of authorship, textual constitution and literary criticism.

A. Jeanroy et A. Långfors. Chansons inédites tirées du manuscrit français 24406 de la Bibliothèque nationale. 46

pages. This new series of unpublished texts comprises thirty-three numbers and includes all the *unica* still remaining in the manuscript in question. These texts are given in a critical edition, together with strophic schemes.

H. R. Lang. The Spanish Estribote, Estrambote and related poetic forms. 25 pages. Professor Lang here publishes a critical text of a number of short Spanish poems, with introduction and notes. He pays especial attention to the question of paragogic *e* in Spanish.

E. Philipon. Les destinées du phonème E + I dans les langues romanes. 52 pages. This very long article deals with a great number of etymological problems, which are frequently elusive because of numerous gaps in our lexicographical knowledge of the older Romance dialects.

G. Huet. Charlemagne et Basin et les contes populaires. 18 pages. The author here gives a synopsis of five similar folklore stories from Eastern Europe, and states that the anecdote of the king turned thief is widely spread in that region. He suggests two possible solutions of the question of the origin of these stories and their connection with the well-known Old French variant. In a note at the end he gives some data on a similar Italian story.

Mélanges. Ferdinand Lot, Nouveaux exemples d'Igoranda. Ferdinand Lot, Ortivineas. Ferdinand Lot, Pour la chronologie des modifications phonétiques. L. Havet, Sorus, adjectif de couleur. Lucien Foulet, Le tutoiement en ancien français. Eugénie Droz, Notice sur un manuscrit ignoré de la Bibliothèque nationale (Imprimés, vélin 2231; XV<sup>e</sup> siècle).

Comptes rendus. F. Lot, Etude sur le Lancelot en prose (Albert Pauphilet: "Le livre que M. F. Lot vient de faire paraître sur le *Lancelot* en prose est un des ouvrages les plus importants qu'aient inspirés les romans de la Table Ronde."). Maurice Wilmette, Le Français a la tête épique (Lucien Foulet). A. Jeanroy, Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers provençaux; Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen âge (Arthur Langfors). Les parures Adam. Les Jeux partis d'Adam de la Halle, texte critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire, par L. Nicod (A. Jeanroy). A. Stephuhn, Das Fabel vom Prestre comporté und seine Versionen; ein Beitrag zur Fableforschung und zur Volkskunde (A. Langfors). The Ad Deum vadit of Jean Gerson, pub. by David Hobart Carnahan (Eugénie Droz: "Cette édition du plus beau sermon français de Gerson est faite avec soin et conscience"). Etude sur Pathelin; essai de bibliographie et d'interprétation, par Richard Th. Holbrook (Lucien Foulet: "Dans ce beau vo-



lume, orné de vingt-trois illustrations empruntées pour la plupart aux anciennes éditions de *Pathelin*, M. Holbrook nous donne les résultats d'un travail poursuivi méthodiquement pendant bien des années . . . Le livre de M. Holbrook fait très bien augurer de son édition. Nous souhaitons qu'elle paraisse sans retard"). Béatrix Ravà, Venise dans la littérature française depuis ses origines jusqu'à la mort de Henri IV (Eugénie Droz). Maurice Jeanneret, La langue des tablettes d'exécration latines (J. Jud). Le fonti arabiche nel dialetto siciliano. Vocabolario etimologico comp. dal P. Gabriele Maria da Aleppo e dal suo allievo G. M. Calvaruso. Parte I. (Giacomo De Gregorio).

Périodiques. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes. T. LVIII (1897)-T. LXXV (1914) (E.-G. Léonard). Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français, XXXVIII, 1912-XL, 1914 (M. R.). Butlletí de dialectologia catalana, t. III (1915), fasc. 1-2 (J. Jud). Lares, Bullettino della Società di etnografia italiana, t. III (1914)-t. IV (1915), fasc. 1 (J. Jud). The Romanic Review, V (1914)-VI (1915) (M. R.). Annales du Midi, XXIII (1911)-XXXI (1919) (A. J.). Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris, t. XVI (1910-11)-XX (1918) (M. R.). Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris, t. XV (no. 56, 1908)-t. XXI (nos. 66-67, 1918-19) (M. R.). Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, XXXIX, 1918 (E. M.).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Jean Bonnard, Léopold Constans, Charles Kohler, Ernesto Monaci, Egidio Gorra, Per Adolf Geijer and Pier-Enea Guarnerio. A. Terracher has been appointed to the chair of the History of the French language at the University of Strasbourg. Collections et publications en cours.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 29 titles. A bibliography of mediaeval French literature for college libraries by Lucien Foulet. The use of the infinitive instead of a finite verb in French, by Benjamin F. Luker. Essai sur l'histoire du vers français, par Hugo Thieme.

Official obituary of Paul Meyer by M. R.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA E DI ISTRUZIONE CLASSICA. Vol. XLVIII (1920), parts 3, 4.

Pp. 321-342. Studi Senofontei. IV. Intorno all' 'Economico.' (1) La composizione. Luigi Castiglioni. The repe-

titions and inconsistencies of the *Oeconomicus* are probably due to the plan of the work, not to an interpolator. That is, when writing the first dialogue, between Socrates and Critobulus, Xenophon apparently did not contemplate adding the second dialogue, between Socrates and Ischomachus.

Pp. 343-353. Note critiche. Vincenzo Costanzi. Textual notes on Diodorus, XIX 67, 4; Polybius, III 118, 1-3; Livy, XXI 31, 4; Antoninus Liberalis, 72. In XXI 31, 4, Livy probably wrote 'Arar,' not 'Isara'; cp. Sil. Ital. III 452, XV 502-509.

Pp. 354-358. Il ritmo oratorio negli storici latini. Remigio Sabbadini. Comment on A. W. de Groot's recent study of the clausulae in Caesar and Sallust. Sabbadini is very sceptical as to the conscious use of rhythmical clausulae by any Roman historian.

Pp. 359-377. Studi sull' accento greco e latino. VIII. La lettura dei versi. M. Lenchantin De Gubernatis. A protest against reading classical poetry according to the ictus. Apparently, a plea for reading according to grammatical accent.

Pp. 378-384. Ancora poche parole per l'etruscità delle due iscrizioni preelleniche di Lemno. Elia Lattes. Postilla di replica. Luigi Pareti.

Pp. 385-389. *Ambages* in Petronio e in Dante. Ettore Stampini. Dante's expression for the Romances of the Round Table, 'Arturi regis ambages pulcerrimae' (De Vulg. Eloq. I 10, 2) has its parallel in Petronius, 118, 6, 'sed per ambages deorumque ministeria,' etc. That is, 'ambages' means 'fiction,' or 'fancy'; cp. Horace, A.P. 151, atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet, etc.

Pp. 390-391. Postilla Manzoniiana (*Il cinque maggio*, vv. 10 sgg.). C. O. Zuretti. Manzoni's expression 'orma di piè mortale' has a classical parallel in Euripides, Orest. 1468 (τὸ χρυσοσάνδαλον ἵχνος). 'Orma di piè' means merely 'piè.'

Pp. 392-394. Note all' *Elettra* di Euripide. Giuseppe Amendola. In line 978 the MS reading should be retained, τῷ δαὶ πατρίαν διαμεθίης τιμωρίαν; "To whom, then, would you entrust the task of avenging your father?" In 1014, γλώσση πικρότης ἐνεστί τις, the πικρότης is not that of the woman compassed by ill fame, but that of her detractors. The text of 1068 should be kept unchanged.

Pp. 395-406. Reviews and book notices: Cicero's Orator, edited by E. Stampini, 1920; The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XIV; Pearl C. Wilson, Wagner's Dramas and Greek Tragedy, 1919; etc.

Pp. 407-413. Reports of classical periodicals.

Pp. 414-416. List of new books received.

Pp. 417-443. Sui 'Caratteri' di Teofrasto. Augusto Rosagni. The Characters of Theophrastus may be regarded as a supplement to the general treatises on poetics. They were written as a guide and help in character-drawing.

Pp. 444-448. Di alcuni fenomeni di aspirazione e un epigramma di Catullo. M. Lenchantin De Gubernatis. The pronunciation 'chommoda,' Catull. 84, 1, was dialectic, an example of 'rustica asperitas' or 'peregrina insolentia' (Cic. De Or. 3, 12, 44).

Pp. 449-468. Le fonti della silloge scolastica Filargiriana. Gino Funaioli. Concluded from pp. 214-238. The principal source was, apparently, Donatus.

Pp. 469-474. Vestigium pedis. Adolfo Gandiglio. Cp. pp. 390-391. Manzoni's expression 'orma di piè mortale' has its parallel in Ovid, Met. 2, 852-3, 'quam nec vestigia duri | calcavere pedis.'

Pp. 475-495. Studi Senofontei. IV. Intorno all' 'Economico.' Luigi Castiglioni. Textual notes.

Pp. 496-504. Reviews and book notices.

Pp. 505-511. Reports of classical periodicals.

Pp. 512-516. List of new books received.

W. P. MUSTARD.

## REVIEWS.

Die Ilias und Homer. Von ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1916. 523 pp. 8°.

This book—the story of its genesis is told in the opening pages—presents the conclusions reached after thirty years' study of the problem by a man who has long been ranked among the foremost Hellenists of the world. As was to be expected, it is a work that cannot be disregarded by anyone who is sincerely interested in the origins of the Homeric poems. Its conclusions, however, are presented, not in relation to opinions previously held upon the question, but merely as *aperçus* of the author. That is the chief defect of the book recognized by the author himself and ascribed to the wartimes which provided the only possible excuse, "for going my way straight to the goal, without looking much to right or left"—that is, for ignoring other writings on the subject. The result is to increase the dogmatic tone which is not entirely absent from Wilamowitz' other writings; but one who can guard his freedom of thought against this will find in the book much that is stimulating and helpful along with many conclusions from which I think it necessary to dissent.

To the reviewer whose space is necessarily limited the book presents an exceptionally difficult problem. Previous investigators have usually begun with an effort to define the nucleus of the poem. Wilamowitz proposes to start from the other end, and remove the later accretions layer by layer. The comparison with the systematic excavation of an archeologic site is present (p. 24) in his mind, and I may continue the comparison to express my general impression of his book. It is as if the work had progressed unequally in different parts of the field; the excavation being carried down at points to bedrock, while elsewhere the excavator has stopped among the upper strata, hesitating to disturb the beauty of what he has found. The result is on the one hand a clearer understanding and better appreciation of the topmost strata, but on the other hand confusion about the earlier strata and misinterpretation of the history of the site as a whole. To report fully upon the excavation would mean to write another book of at least equal bulk, and I must go to the other extreme and merely indicate briefly a few matters that seem to me of the greatest moment.

I may single out in the first place the attention regularly given to the problems of the "lower" criticism as a characteristic which makes Wilamowitz' book contrast favorably with other recent works on the same subject. In connection with this is to

be noted the excellent account (pp. 4-8) of the origin of our text. On the main point "*unser Text ist eine Revision, die im zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr. unter Zuziehung von Handschriften gemacht ist*" I can agree with the author, though I believe that it is now possible to be more detailed and precise. I must admire also the neatness with which he draws the practical conclusion: "*Es ist daher verzweifelt naiv, wenn man sich wundert, wie eine bare Interpolation sich 'in allen Handschriften' befinden könnte.*" It is true that this text of Aristarchus is a revision of that of Aristophanes, but that is not a sufficient reason for simply obliterating the difference by *Aristarchus das heisst Aristophanes* (p. 121) and similar formulae. It is a service, however, when the author very properly emphasizes (p. 6) the folly and injustice of allowing our judgment of Zenodotus to be biassed by the one-sided nature of the reports of his edition which have reached us. Before Zenodotus there was no vulgate, only a chaos (p. 7), "*eine Masse ganz gewaltig abweichender Handschriften.*" To that I would agree in a certain sense, though I would not go so far as to believe with Wilamowitz (p. 12) that there were in the library of Alexandria manuscripts of the *Odyssey* that ended with ψ 296 and contained therefore as a matter of course another version of the poem—one in which Laertes was dead, and the parts referring to him were missing. The proof of "*die Jugend unserer Odyssee*" drawn (p. 5 n.) from the agreement of P. Rylands 53 with our manuscripts is anything but cogent. If any conclusion is to be drawn it is that our manuscripts, or families of manuscripts, descend from an archetype or archetypes but little older than this papyrus. We have good reason to be grateful to the Alexandrians, but we must always remember (p. 8) that our text is only a selection made by them from a mass of variants, between which—as far as they are reported—we have a perfect right to choose.

Behind this there is to my mind another unity—the Attic edition of Homer. To such an idea Wilamowitz is opposed. The question of the *μεταγραφησιμότης* is not discussed; it is swept aside in a single sentence (p. 8), "*So giebt es denn auch bei den Grammatikern keine orthographischen Varianten, die irgendwie für Alter, Herkunft oder Integrität des Textes von Belang wären.*"<sup>1</sup> An appendix (pp. 506-511) discusses Wackernagel's work without touching the questions really at issue. The unity to which Wilamowitz comes is a poem A-H A-O-

<sup>1</sup> I should agree rather with Thumb, *Handb. d. gr. Dial.*, pp. 320f., and Wackernagel, *Sprachl. Unters. zu Homer*, pp. 83ff. I may call attention to the variants at B 573 which can best be explained as arising from the confusion of ΔΟΝΟΕΖΑΝ and ΔΟΝΟΕΖΑΝ in an Attic manuscript. It is a type of error which could not be expected to occur frequently.

*Patrocleia-Achilleis* which he calls the Iliad of Homer and dates about 750 B. C., or rather it is this poem in a number of recensions. Of these he distinguishes one with a reworking of the *Patrocleia-Achilleis* by the author of ΣΤ made at a time when this section had not yet been embodied in the Iliad; a later reworking which has affected ΥΦ especially; a third with the substitution of Ω and eventually ΨΩ for the death of Achilles which originally closed the poem; and finally a fourth with the insertion of ΘΙΚ. Preferences of the rhapsodists are held to have determined which of these recensions should survive.

They have survived however in an interpolated form, and methodically the first step should have been the removal of these interpolations. Had that been attempted the result would have been a chapter corresponding to the first part of Blass' *Interpolationen in der Odyssee*. I must regret that this was not done—although it is easy to see how repugnant it would have been to Wilamowitz as an artist. Instead, the matter has been scattered throughout the work, frequently in footnotes; and apparently it has at times been neglected as too trivial.

Wilamowitz declines (p. 11) to be guided by linguistic criteria—and that is to my mind a decision that necessarily vitiates his work. For him the chief thing (p. 25) is his appreciation of differences of style, as a matter of *ἄλογος αἰσθήσις*. That seems to me an uncertain guide, and to be accepted only in the absence of other indications. It helps most in the top-most strata where the possibilities are fewest.

Thus his views on the section of the Iliad lying between H 322 and A 1 are in my opinion substantially<sup>2</sup> correct; Bethe (p. 107 n. 1) reached independently practically the same result. In addition to more important questions these two scholars differ upon a matter of detail which seems to admit of a definite settlement. Wilamowitz proposes (pp. 52ff.) to regard the *Building of the Wall* (H 323-344, 433-465) as an interpolation; Bethe (p. 218 n. 4) argues against this suggestion. Neither uses the decisive argument: Thucydides (cf. Murray, RGE<sup>3</sup> pp. 312f., and the literature there cited) learned his Iliad from a manuscript in which these lines were not written. That shows we are dealing with an interpolation, though not necessarily with one that is post-Thucydidean in date. In claiming that it is non-Athenian Wilamowitz is at fault;<sup>3</sup> he seems at fault also

<sup>2</sup> Note that Θ 489ff. is older than the beginning of Θ, and is afterwards (p. 184) so explained by Wilamowitz.

<sup>3</sup> It is an interesting possibility that the interpolation is not all of one piece. According to Didymus *ὁ περὶ Ζηρόδορον καὶ Ἀριστοφάνη καὶ αὐτῶς Ἀριστοφάνης* (cf. sch. T at 443 and sch. A at 452) athetized τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῶν θεῶν. According to Aristonicus the athetesis was defined as extending from 443-464, cf. sch. A at 443. That was a slip (it

in believing (p. 64 n. 3) that the recognition of this interpolation entails the rejection of I 346-356.

The most interesting part of the work and the one of most permanent value is that which deals with the ending of the poem. As far back as Heyne a difference of tone in the last six books of the Iliad was observed. The idea dropped partly under the charm of the poetry of X, partly because the *Slaying of Hector* was obviously a necessary part of the story. Later Robert suggested that the original end of the Iliad had been cut away and its place filled by a *Ἐκτορος ἀναίρεσις*. Wilamowitz too finds in the end of the Iliad a separate poem which he christens the *Achilleis*. There is similarity and difference in these ideas, and it will be worth while to follow them in some detail. Both scholars believe that their poems have been re-worked; Robert distinguishing three stages in the development of the *Ἐκτορος ἀναίρεσις*, and Wilamowitz differentiating the *Achilleis* of "Homer," the epos of the author of ΣΤ and a redaction most marked in ΥΦ. To begin with Υ Robert claims for his original poem lines 353-503, Wilamowitz likewise rejects the first 352 lines. Of the remainder he is hypercritical, but can make no further analysis beyond the unlikely suggestion (cf. Leaf) that the closing simile is the interpolation of a rhapsodist. I can see no need for going beyond the belief that the author of the *Achilleis* finds this part of his subject less congenial and has helped himself with borrowed material. From Φ both take two large sections: Robert 1-138, 228-304; Wilamowitz 1-136, 235-304; the juncture made by Wilamowitz being by far the superior.<sup>4</sup> Wilamowitz picks up the old poem again in 520; Robert prefixes 515-517 to this line, an error due to his failure to follow Zenodotus in athetizing 538-539. Both continue without important break to X 166 from which Robert passes immediately to 208 while Wilamowitz makes the splendid suggestion that 166 199-201 208 is the proper sequence. From X 208-394 the two scholars are again in agreement.<sup>5</sup>

For the section from Υ 353 to X 394 substantially the same conclusions have thus been reached by two scholars, although they have approached the problem from different ends and with

should be 442-464) which was pounced upon by hostile critics, cf. sch. T at 464: ἀποκοτὴ γὰρ ἦν εἰσεῖν 'ὅς οἱ μὲν ποιεῖτο' (442) εἰς αὐτὸς 'ὁδὸς εἰς ἡλιος (465). The athetesis thus corrected is reasonable; if it was based in part on manuscript evidence, these lines would be still younger than their surroundings.

<sup>4</sup>Robert also omits 17-33 in consequence of what we shall see is a wrong determination of the scope of the poem; the other differences are of minimal importance.

<sup>5</sup>Wilamowitz' athetesis of X 1-4 seems unnecessary; other questions in this book are of minimal importance and show more agreement than disagreement between the two analysts.

different criteria. In the midst of the clamor raised by the Unitarians about the unending divergence of the analyses the fact is worth noting; and it entitles us, I believe, to handle this reconstructed poem as a reality. As it stands it is a torso, and the question comes of how it is to be completed. Wilamowitz has shown that we have not (as Robert believed) reached the end of the poem, but that it ran on much as in our text to Ψ 257 and ended with the death of Achilles. The original ending has been sacrificed in order that Ω might take its place—the *Games* being a still later addition. That necessitated a reworking of Ψ, the elimination\* of the *ἀεκέα ἔργα* wrought upon the body of Hector.

The problem of the beginning of the *Achilleis* is abandoned (p. 181) by Wilamowitz; the most he will say is that it reached back, as X shows, at least to the Polydamas scene and must therefore have included a *Reconciliation*. More than this seems possible. When we picked up at Y 353 the thread of the *Achilleis* we were in the midst of a battle. Before that must have come the opening of the battle, the marching forth of the host—a scene somewhat like the opening of A only with Achilles instead of Agamemnon as the central figure. Exactly what we require is to be found at the end of T, and I see no reason for refusing to follow Robert and accept it as part of this poem. Nor can I agree to the demand of Wilamowitz that the *Achilleis* must include a formal reconciliation with Agamemnon; we may therefore pass back immediately to the events of the preceding night. It is filled in our text by two parallel scenes (Σ 243-355) which describe the Trojan *agora* and the mourning over Patroclus. The allusion in X 100 to the first of these shows that we have here at least the substance of the *Achilleis*, whether it has been reworked<sup>7</sup> as Wilamowitz (pp. 171f.) thinks cannot be discussed here. One more item must have stood in the poem—the revelation to Achilles of the connection between Hector's death and his own. Earlier in Σ we have such a scene, but this is the point at which the *Achilleis* is joined to the *Iliad*, and the attempt at further analysis must be allowed to rest.<sup>8</sup>

In other parts of the poem Wilamowitz' analysis has been much less successful. An instance may be seen in his treatment of the *Patrocleia*. The study of his book has not lead me to

\* That this had taken place was previously suggested by J. A. K. Thomson, ap. RGE<sup>2</sup> 147f.

<sup>7</sup> The strangest thing is the absence of all reference to the slaying of Patroclus in the speeches of Polydamas and Hector, but that is true also of Hector's speech in X. Did the *Achilleis* here betray the fact that Patroclus fought in his own armor?

<sup>8</sup> Note however the absence in Σ 35-127 of all expressions of a wish to save the body of Patroclus. In the original concept the scene took place after the rescue was effected.



modify my belief in the substantial correctness of Robert's analysis—except for the latter's attempt to show that the change of armor is an old motif. In that Wilamowitz is correct, and Bethe has made (pp. 80-86) an even better presentation of the argument. The curious thing is how slightly Robert's analysis is affected\* by this correction. Wilamowitz is also right (agreeing with Robert against Bethe) in ascribing Automedon and the chariot of Achilles to the earliest stratum; but the linguistic evidence against the Sarpedon episode is decisive. The attempt to find in the *Patrocleia* an independent lay I must regard as a failure.

Space forbids the giving of further illustrations, and I must content myself with recording my dissent from the proposition in which (p. 514) the theory of Wilamowitz culminates that A, the scenes relating to the gods in NEO together with ΦX and the first part of Ψ are the "*eigene Erfindung oder doch Gestaltung*" of a single individual.

Another feature of the work must at least be mentioned—the literary appreciations of certain portions of the Iliad. One can read them with enjoyment and with profit, even though he may not be in agreement with the author's analysis. As examples I may refer to the treatment (pp. 92-115) of XΨ<sup>1</sup> or to the paragraphs (pp. 161-162) that contrast the *Patrocleia* with the *Achilleis*; the treatment too of A, A and B may be noted especially. I would call attention also to the section (pp. 322-330) on the lay, the short epos, the epos, and the development of structural art in them and to the following chapter headed *Sage, Lied und Epos*.

The proof-reading was not too careful. There are, moreover, some *quisquilliae* which cannot be laid at the door of the printer. On pp. 45ff. the scene of the death of Antilochus is twice ascribed to the *Ilias Parva* instead of the *Aethiopis*, so also Robert, p. 165. "*Die alte Schale von Kamiros, auf der Euphorbos und Menelaos um Patroklos kämpfen*" (p. 144 n.) must be the one on which Hector and Menelaus fight over Euphorbus. On p. 185 the notes are wrongly divided—after what has happened to Croiset it may be expected that some Unitarian will find therein cause for cheap triumph. On p. 186 n. 2 is found: "*Φηρός sollen wir uns gewöhnen mit Eiche zu übersetzen, nicht mit Buche, als ob es lateinisch wäre.*" The remark seems strangely out of date, until one notices that the rendering "*Buche*" is twice found (pp. 98, 99) in Wilamowitz' own work. The etymology of Σάκος (p. 191) should not have been printed after the publication of Bechtel's *Lexilogus*. Sarpedon is not, as stated on

\* Read in II 64 (U. I. 1601) ἀόδια ῥεύεα and drop II 140-144 (U. I. 1657-1661) and perhaps II 796-797 (U. I. 1820-1821).

p. 214, wounded in M. The sentence (p. 258) "*Auch der Mangel der Gleichnisse weist in die spätere Zeit; sonst müsste die Odyssee primitiver als die Ilias sein, und der Demeter Hymnus primitiver als die Odyssee*" shows a lapse into Unitarian logic.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

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The Stonyhurst Pageants edited with introduction by CARLETON BROWN (*Hesperia*, Ergänzungsreihe: Schriften zur englischen Philologie herausgegeben von James W. Bright, 7. Heft). Göttingen and Baltimore. 1920.

A hitherto unpublished fragmentary cycle of Old Testament plays, preserved in Ms. A. VI. 33, Library of Stonyhurst College, has been issued in *Hesperia* under the editorship of Professor CARLETON BROWN. The work has been in progress since June 1914, and was prevented from being issued by the outbreak of the war. The manuscript is mentioned in *Hist. Mss. Com. Report* III, Appendix p. 338 a. Fifty-five leaves have been lost from the beginning and five leaves between folios 120 and 126. Material is also lost from the end of the manuscript, the last folio preserved being 190. There is also some disarrangement of folios. What we have left is twelve pageants, as follows: of *Jacob* (fragmentary), 106 ll.; of *Joseph*, 1048 ll.; of *Moses*, 1584 ll.; of *Josue*, 552 ll.; of *Gedeon*, 310 ll.; of *Jephthe*, 292 ll.; of *Samson*, 392 ll.; of *Saul* (a few lines at beginning lost), 1445 ll.; of *David*, 690 ll.; of *Salomon*, 370 ll.; of *Elias*, 815 ll.; of *Naaman*, 1136 ll. The pageants are numbered and the editor conjectures that there have been lost from the beginning of the cycle pageants dealing with the familiar subjects of the Creation, the Fall, Cain and Abel, Noah, and Abraham. He also conjectures that the thirteenth pageant which fell in the gap between folios 120 and 126 dealt with the story of Ruth. The pageant of *Naaman* which ends the cycle is also incomplete, and the editor estimates that without regard to further plays in the cycle the eighteen provided for must have reached the enormous total of 13,000 lines.

On the basis of proper names scribbled on the manuscript and of dialect, the editor concludes that the manuscript belongs to Lancashire, the region where it was found. He has also made the happy discovery that the plays are based upon the Douay version of the Bible, a conclusion which must be regarded as

certain in the light of the use in the pageants not only of words and forms from the Douay text but the frequent use of the commentary which accompanies the text.

The fact that the Douay translation was published in 1609-10 establishes with considerable certainty a date earlier than which these pageants could hardly have been composed in their present form. On the basis of the occurrence of *it* for the newer possessive *its* and some other indications, he thinks it likely that the plays were composed not later than 1625.

The editor thinks in view of the well-known activity of the Catholics throughout Lancashire during the period referred to that the author was a Roman Catholic and suggests that the plays might have been written by a student from Lancashire at the English college at Douay, which was conducted by the Jesuits. This, of course, is entirely possible. The editor regards the pageants as a curiously belated survival of an earlier form of drama, and thinks that although the author wrote with an audience in view and with a knowledge of the traditional manner of mystery plays, he was probably composing plays *de novo*, endeavoring merely to give a faithful dramatization of the chief events in the Old Testament. It must, however, be remembered that these plays are from the exact location in England from which come records of the latest performances of Corpus Christi plays. Weever, *Funeral Monuments* (p. 373), speaks of a "Corpus Christi play in my countrey, which I have seene acted at Preston, and Lancaster, and last of all at Kendall, in the beginning of the raigne of King James; for which the Townesmen were sore troubled; and upon good reasons the Play finally suppress, not onely there, but in all other Townes of the Kingdome."<sup>1</sup> It will be noted that Weever speaks here of the trouble of conscience that men were under with reference to the Corpus Christi play and that the plays were finally suppressed. Presumably, there were those who sought to save them by removing from them matter offensive to the current taste. Certainly, such efforts were made in other places.<sup>2</sup>

If this cycle is an attempt to rewrite in a more acceptable form some older Corpus Christi play, it is certainly true that the text has undergone very complete revision and has been made to follow the Scriptures with meticulous fidelity. The editor points out, for one thing, the enormous extent to which the author has made use of the "Chorus" or "Nuncius," a use which seems to grow as the cycle progresses. In pageants XVI and XVII more than half of the lines are spoken by the Chorus—the chorus, he believes, discharging the somewhat for-

<sup>1</sup> Chambers, E. K. *The Medieval Stage*, II, 373.

<sup>2</sup> Chambers, *op. cit.* II, 111-12, 144, 148.

mal rôle of the expositor in the mystery plays.<sup>3</sup> This was the case, especially, in the earlier plays such as *Joseph*, *Moses*, and *Josue*, where only such material as would be difficult to dramatize is put into the mouth of the Nuncius. But in the later plays, such as *Saul*, *Salomon*, and *Elias*, his function seems to be somewhat more than that of mere expositor. The suggestion that the author found it necessary to abridge his material to a greater degree as he progressed with the cycle does not explain the whole situation. He seems, rather, to be experimenting with the Nuncius as a dramatic device. Beginning with the pageant of *Moses*, he closes the action of each play (with the exception of *Naaman*, where the Nuncius does not appear) with a speech by the Nuncius, and in the case of four plays, those of *Gedeon*, *Samson*, *Saul*, and *David*, the Nuncius makes the opening speech as well. But more important than this feature is the use made of the Nuncius in *Saul*, *Salomon*, and *Elias*, where practically every scene is set off by the Nuncius. It looks as if the author were attempting to make the division between the scenes more distinct and took this means of doing so. It is possible, of course, that in the earlier plays preserved the author was following plays of a cycle now lost. It is also certain that, if the cycle is a redaction and not an independent literary effort, the metre, a septenary line, loosely rhymed in couplets, must be an importation of the writer, since all other cycles were composed in more or less complex stanzaic forms.

The following points seem to indicate that the hypothesis of a redaction is possible. The plays contain no controversial or propagandist material. There are no allusions to the saints or the Virgin and no interweaving of the elaborate story of the cross which characterizes other extended Old Testament cycles. This would indicate that, whether or not the author was a Roman Catholic, rather than a Protestant, the plays were written to conform to Protestant taste. There is, however, little opportunity to introduce theological instruction. So also, as the editor points out, the dramatic method employed by the author is, except for the Plautine form of the pageant of *Naaman*, the simple method of the older religious plays. There are no stage directions, no divisions into scenes, and the action is frequently shifted without warning within the limits of a scene.

<sup>3</sup>The editor detects echoes of the choruses of *Henry V* in the speeches of "Nuncius," particularly in such phrases as "you must imagine now," "you must suppose;" also he thinks there is a reminiscence of *Henry V*, 1, 2, in the pageant of *Jephthe* and possibly of *Othello* in the pageant of *Elias*. He admits, however, that these references are very vague. The use of many names from classical and romantic sources and the Plautine form of the play of *Naaman* render an acquaintance with contemporary drama on the author's part a certainty.

The task of comparing the Stonyhurst pageants with other English cycles is rendered impossible by the fact that the parts lost from the *Stonyhurst Pageants* cover almost the entire subject-matter of the Old Testament parts of the four English cycles. Even the Cornish *Origo Mundi* covers by no means so much ground. It is only in the play of *Moses* that we find a basis of comparison. And in that play the author has followed Scripture so closely that it is not possible to find any significant points of agreement. The French *Mistère du Viel Testament* also follows Scripture with a good deal of closeness and agrees with the *Stonyhurst Pageants* in presenting Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Balaam (Chorus in Stonyhurst), Samson, Saul, David, Solomon. It does not include Joshua, Gideon, Jepthe, Elias, and Naaman.

The grouping of subjects into certain pageants, however, follows the traditional Old Testament topics as presented in the service of the church, but since the *Stonyhurst Pageants* are more or less inclusive this fact has little significance. The stories told in the *Golden Legend*, for example, are the same, except for Naaman, as those in the *Stonyhurst Pageants*, although Gedeon, Jepthe, and Samson are merely "passed over in the *Golden Legend*." Everything considered, it seems at least possible that the *Stonyhurst Pageants* were written to take the place of older plays in a form so faithful to Scripture that they would give no offense to current taste, and that they may have back of them an original cycle, which, however, they resemble only in a very general way.

HARDIN CRAIG.

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

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Etruskische Malerei, by FRITZ WEEGE. Max Niemeyer-Verlag, Halle, 1921.

In spite of the fact that a great mass of literature on the Etruscan question has fallen into dusty neglect in the libraries, we are still in need of special studies on every branch of Etruscan archaeology. WEEGE's book, attractively printed and bound, with more than a hundred full-page plates and nearly as many cuts inserted in the text, can not fail to be welcomed with joy. The title is somewhat misleading, for the author has confined his detailed discussion to the tomb paintings of Corneto-Tarquini, where he recognizes a local school in existence from the sixth to the second century B. C. It is disappointing to find no mention of the vase decoration which flourished still earlier in the same place. One chapter is devoted to the distinguishing quali-

ties of Etruscan art in general, and one to the technique and dating of the Cornetan frescoes; four others contain discussions of Etruscan history, manners and customs, while the longest of all describes the circumstances under which the tombs were discovered. All this is interesting and is enlivened by the author's evident enthusiasm for his subject; but it is disappointing to the eager seeker after fresh knowledge of Etruscan painting to find that less than one-third of the text deals with that subject. The plates are of permanent value, but the text is too general in scope to be of first-rate importance to scholars. WEEGE has allied himself with those who believe that the Etruscans migrated to Italy from Asia. On the question of their early relations with Rome, he declares his opinion plainly when he counts as Etruscan the bronze wolf made in Rome in the sixth century, "einer Zeit in der Rom etruskisch war."

LOUISE E. W. ADAMS.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.  
JUNE, 1921.

Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus.

By JOHANNES HASEBROEK. Heidelberg: Carl Winter (1921). Pp. viii and 201.

This study is largely concerned with the outward acts of Septimius Severus, his political and military activities and the chronology of them. It will prove very useful for reference to them. A thorough-going search of the sources, ancient and modern, has been made, including coins, papyri, and inscriptions which, if of any significance, are printed in full in a special appendix. Unfortunately, HASEBROEK failed to see, until his book was in the printer's hands, Maurice Platnauer's "The Life and Reign of Septimius Severus" (1918), and has not read an article by the same man on "The Defeat of Niger," in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (1918), and the same topic in my "Studies in the History of Syria" (1915).

Comment on minor errors would be out of place in a brief review, and there are not many of them. A major error, it seems to the reviewer, is made again and again in wholly subjective estimates of the historical value of various statements in the *Vitae*. It is to be regretted that the author did not see fit to extend his studies to take in the new policies of this critical reign. While collecting so much good source material, he has omitted an assembling, from Justinian's *Corpus*, of laws passed by Severus. These and the great figure of the jurist Papinian scarcely find mention.

G. A. HARRER.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

*La Scrittura Latina nell'Età Romana . . . con Appendice bibliografica (32 Illustrazioni).* LUIGI SCHIAPARELLI. Como 1921, Ostinelli di Cesare Nani e Co. Price in Italy 20 lire; for abroad, 20 gold francs. Pp. 207.

This is Vol. I of the new *Auxilia ad Res Italicas Medii Aevi exquirendas in usum scholarum instructa et collecta*: SCHIAPARELLI, the learned and prolific Professor of Palaeography and Diplomatics at the Florence Institute of Higher Studies, is also to edit Vol. II (*Raccolta di Documenti Latini*, fasc. I, dal II sec. a. C. al VII sec. d. C.). The series is dedicated to the fostering of historical studies in the New Italy; but Vol. I appeals to all students of the history of writing. It is a full account, with exhaustive bibliography, lists of MSS, fragments, etc. of all our sources for the study of early book-hands. SCHIAPARELLI concludes that from the archaic monumental capital are derived the elegant and the rustic monumental capital, and the cursive monumental capital and majuscule hands. The former passed over into books, the latter into documents. So in MSS we find the elegant and the rustic capital, in charters the cursive capital and majuscule (Pompeian and Dacian wax tablets). This last develops into the cursive minuscule. Mixed forms now arise—semi-cursive capital (papyrus de bello Actiaco), majuscule (Ulpian (?) fragment in Fayûm Towns, Plate V, No. X) and minuscule (glosses of Bembine Terence); archaic or rustic semi-uncial (*Oxyrhynchus Livy epitome*); and from this last, the uncial and semi-uncial book-hands. He combats the theory of Giry and Grand, and Traube, that the semi-uncial is a Christian development. The illustrations are taken from Wessely, etc.; there are numerous tables of forms of letters. The bibliography is admirable, and mentions several recent items new to most of us. The book is a thoughtful and valuable contribution to the critique of Latin palaeography.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

NORTH HATLEY, QUEBEC.

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*Cicero: A Biography.* By TORSTEN PETERSSON. University of California Press, 1920. 699 pp.

New biographies of Cicero are coming out in rapid succession but what we really need still fails to appear. The general reader deserves to have a book cast in the mold—somewhat enlarged—of Strachan-Davidson's biography but with more generous attention to Cicero's literary work. The advanced scholar

needs as a convenient reference book a work of far larger compass than Sihler's containing the results of all important investigations that are pertinent and a full array of sources and authorities. Dr. PETERSSON's volume, good as it is in many respects, satisfies neither need. It does not reveal the maturity of judgment in political matters, the direct contact with all the diverse literary activities of this far-reaching author, nor the capacious style that either work would demand. As a work of reference it lacks, despite its meticulous care in many details, the final penetrating investigation, and the guideposts directing to sources.

This is of course only saying that the author has failed to do the well-nigh impossible thing. In fact the book is nearer a success than any biography of Cicero that has appeared in a decade. The author has understood the serious nature of his task. He has tried to do justice to every side of his subject, and he has also recognized the importance of setting the biography in its proper social and political framework. His reading is wide and thorough, even if it has not led to any appreciably original judgments. His proportions are in general right, though at times he has let the verbose letters lead him astray into the repetition of insignificant details. He has been steadily fair in estimating the personality of a man who marred very great qualities by obtruding irritating foibles. In a word this biography is safe and reliable, and can be recommended for what it offers. It may not be wholly out of place to express the hope that the author will recur to this exacting task after enlarging the scope of his researches in Roman history and literature. He may yet provide the book which no one else has succeeded in writing.

TENNEY FRANK.

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Traces of Matriarchy in Germanic Hero-Lore. By ALBERT WILLIAM ARON. University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, Number 9. Madison, 1920.

ARON finds in the Germanic Heldensage the same traditional sentimental tie between mother's brother and sister's son that Farnsworth found in the Old French Chansons de Geste, and he handles the material in much the same way. A similar relationship between nephew and maternal uncle is revealed by the familiar passage in Tacitus's *Germania* (XX). The third step in ARON's argument is, perhaps, better expressed by Farnsworth (p. 227): "The sociologists have shown that this preference for the sister's son, which is one of the main characteristics of the matriarchal state of society, is found only where Mother-



right prevails or has once prevailed." The above is, briefly, ARON's case for Germanic traces of matriarchy. It can be overthrown only by the adduction of some other and more reasonable explanation of a relationship, in the Germanic sagas, between mother-brother and sister-son so frequent and so peculiar that it can not be dismissed as a mere literary device or a caprice of romantic invention.

Neither ARON's idea nor all of his material is new, but his is the first comprehensive and convincing collection of the Germanic literary evidence. However, his general discussion of matriarchy (one-fourth of the book) suffers somewhat from a vagueness and a dependence that are only partially excused by the difficulties of the matriarchal controversy and the scope of the present work. He neither accepts nor rejects the evident fact that if matriarchy was ever an Indo-European institution it must have been displaced by patriarchy so thoroughly and so long before the separation that the former could not have been transmitted to the Germans from that source. And he fails to suggest the strong probability that wherever matriarchy appears in the individual I.-E. peoples it is due to the emergence of an autochthonous, non-I.-E. substratum.

The book ends with a clever *non sequitur*, directed against the use of matriarchy as evidence of the non-Indo-Europeanness of the Picts. ARON argues that if matriarchy existed among the Germans centuries before Christ, it may also have existed among their neighbors, the Celts, before the Celtic invasions of Britain. Consequently, the matriarchy of the Picts is in itself no indication that they were not Celts.

But neither among the Germans, the Celts, nor any other I.-E. people do more than traces of an alien matriarchy appear, whereas that social organization was characteristic of the Picts and of various non-I.-E. peoples with whom the Indo-Europeans early came into contact (Iberians, Basques, Etruscans, etc.).

HAROLD H. BENDER.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

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## I.—WORD-ENDS AND PAUSES IN THE HEXAMETER.

In an important article in *AJP.* XL, pp. 343-372, Professor Bassett has discussed the doctrine of caesura among the ancients. He shows that our traditional view of the matter rests upon a combination of several originally distinct theories. Professor Bassett discusses three of these, which he denominates the metric theory, the rhythmic theory, and the rhetorical theory. At first the metric theory had two forms, which it will be convenient to separate.

(1) Some metrician observed that the hexameter contains several shorter dactylic measures, namely, the trimeter catalectic (  $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$  ) and acatalectic (  $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$  ) and the tetrameter catalectic (  $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$  ) and acatalectic (  $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$  ), and that one or more such verses can be taken out of almost any one of Homer's lines, for the reason that the close of one or more of these shorter units usually coincides with the end of a word. The term *τομή* (Latin *caesura*) was originally applied to the shorter metric unit contained within the hexameter, but it was afterwards used of the close of that unit.

(2) Varro observed that the fifth half-foot always (*omni-modo*) closed a word, and we are told that certain unnamed metricians held that only the first two and the last two feet of the hexameter might consist of single whole words. The theory has been modified and interpreted by modern scholars as follows (to abridge Professor Bassett's statement, pp. 370 ff.). Since the hexameter has a somewhat rigid metrical scheme, the poets were at considerable pains to avoid monotony of rhythm. Among the devices employed was such an arrangement of words that

the pauses at the ends of the words should not accentuate the metrical divisions. It was not possible to avoid altogether the coincidence of a word-end with the close of a foot, and scarcely desirable, since variety was the great need of the hexameter; but such coincidence was rather carefully avoided at the middle of the verse to prevent the line from breaking apart into two trimeters. This latter point, I may add, has been emphasized by some scholars; Monro, for example, in the introduction to his edition of the *Iliad* (p. lxxiv), states, as one of the two chief rules of the Homeric hexameter, that "the third foot must not end a word."

(3) Students of rhythmic structure seem to have held that each hexameter contained two *cola* (Bassett, p. 355).

(4) The rhetoricians observed that the rhetorical units combine with the metrical units in various ways. They sometimes correspond with the verse, sometimes they are longer, sometimes they are shorter, and sometimes there are several of them in a single verse. The poets were careful to secure variety by placing the rhetorical pauses at different points. Our clearest authority for this theory before its contamination with other theories is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Comp. Verb.* 26.

The combinations of these theories have been numerous and confusing both in ancient and in modern times. Clear thinking requires their rigid separation. The first and third of them may be very briefly dismissed. The observation that the dactylic hexameter contains certain shorter measures is undoubtedly true, but it is scarcely significant. The doctrine that the hexameter consists of two rhythmic *cola*, on the other hand, is not supported by any noteworthy evidence (Bassett, p. 370). The other two theories require further discussion.

## I.

The theory that the coincidence of word-ends with the divisions between feet tended to break the verse into its elements, involves the assumption that the ends of the words were marked by a slight pause. This assumption is sometimes explicitly made,<sup>1</sup> and it is logically necessary for all who hold that word-

<sup>1</sup> For example, Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, p. 338; Lindsay, *The Captivi of Plautus*, p. 69.

ends, as such, have significance in the composition of verse. But in modern languages there are no pauses between words within the phrase, or, to be more exact, within the breath-group.<sup>2</sup> It is unlikely that Greek and Latin differed from the modern languages in this respect; and we have besides abundant evidence that they did not have pauses within the breath-groups.

A phrase cannot be fused into a compound word unless it is pronounced as one word, and no one will care to assume a pause within a word. Consequently the verbal phrases, which were in Homeric times just giving rise to the compound verbs of later Greek, must have been pronounced without a pause after the prefix when this immediately preceded the verb. The same argument applies to all other stereotyped phrases during the period of their development. Examples are *Διόσκουροι, δουρίκτητος, ἐαυτὸν, ἐκποδὼν, κερηκομόωντες, Κυνόσουρα, νεώσοικοι, παλαίφατος, πανῆμαρ, Πελοπόννησος, τρεισκαίδεκα*. Particularly important are stereotyped phrases which involve crasis, as *γάρ, ἐάν, καλὸς κάγαθός, οὔδεις, ταῦτά*. Significant also are the derivatives of phrases, such as *ἀγχιμαχητής, Αἰγιοστοταμίτης, αἰγιγενής, Διοσκούριτης, ἐκκαδέκατος, ἐμπυριβήτης, ἐπαίτιος, θεοισεχθρία, νουνεχόντως, πεντεκαδεκάποδες* (*IG. II Add. 834 b II 20*).

The assimilation of final to initial consonants and other changes of final consonants under the influence of following initials may be understood only if there is no pause between the words. Such is the source of the variants *eis* and *es*, *ἐξ* and *ἐκ*, *οὐκ* and *οὐχ*. Inscriptions and papyri have countless instances of the assimilation of a final consonant of the article and of certain prepositions, and occasionally of other words. The following are merely illustrative: *ἐὰμ βούληται P. Rev. L. 41. 17, ἐγ Λίνδου IG. I 259. 9, ἐχ θέτων I 31 B 9, ἡὲκ ποδὼν I 322 a 67, ἐγγ δακτύλων, II Add. 834 b II 11, ἐμ Πηλουσίῳ P. Rev. L. 52. 18, ἐπὰγ γάρ P. Eud. 15. 8, ἡερὼγ χρῆμάτων IG. I 188. 2, κατ' ἀλήθεαμ πλημμελουμένοις P. Par. 63. 13. 10, Κροκοδίλωμ πόλυ P. Petr.<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>2</sup>German is no exception to the rule, although elementary teachers of that language sometimes contrast it with French and English in precisely this respect. Such a phrase as *Guten Abend* does indeed separate the final consonant of the first word from the first vowel of the second; but the separation is due solely to the unwritten initial consonant (the glottal plosive) of all German words whose first written letter is a vowel.

21 (a) 2. 7, μὲν φονχάς IG. I 442. 5, νῦν μὲν I Suppl. a 27 a 48, ὅταμ πέμπη II 86. 24, οὐθὲν πῆμα P. Par. 2. 3. 9, οὐμ ποιήσεις P. Petr. II 19 (2) 2, πλὴγ γῆς IG. I Suppl. a 61 a 16, τὲν πόλιν I 55 c 3, τὸν κήρυκα II 61. 9, τὸν παῖδα P. Petr. I 14. 17, ὧγ χροή I (1B) 26.

It is well known that the phonetically imperceptible word-division after the English indefinite article has led to incorrect divisions such as *an adder* (German *Natter*), and a *nickname* (properly *eke-name*). Similar to these forms are *οὐνεκα* from such phrases as *ἐκείνονεκα*, *ἄττα* from *ἑποιά ττα*, etc., and Modern Greek τὸ νῦμον from τὸν ἔμουν.

The clearest evidence of all is furnished by the phenomena of crasis, elision, and semi-elision. Since all of these occur in verse and the last-mentioned two are particularly common in heroic verse, they prove that there need be no pauses at word-ends in the dactylic hexameter. Scarcely less important is the treatment of final syllables with short vowels. Such a word as *πόλιν* has a long final syllable if the next word begins with a consonant; and even such a word as *τά* is long if the next word begins with two consonants.

The evidence for Latin is similar. A number of the stereotyped phrases have been discussed by Sturtevant and Kent, *TAPA*. XLVI pp. 129 ff. Others are *adhuc*, *admodum*, *antequam*, *comminus*, *denuo*, *dummodo*, *duodecim*, *duodeviginti*, *etiam*, *interea*, *necnon*, *nequis*, *nescio*, *nonnulli*, *numquis*, *obviam*, *posthac*, *postquam*, *priusquam*, *proconsule*, *propterea*, *prosperere*, *quamvis*, *quasi*, *quilibet*, *quomodo*, *quoniam*, *sacrosanc-tus*, *sedulo*, *siquidem*, *siquis*, *triumvir*. There are a few derivatives of phrases, such as *abecedarius*, *antelucanus*, *antemeridi-anus*, *duodecimus*, *duodevicesimus*, *interregnum*, *interrex*, *obvius*, *proconsularis*, *profanus*, *prosperus*, *triumviratus*.

That several of the above phrases were pronounced under a single main accent, is shown by phonetic changes of the un-accented syllables (*comminus*, *denuo*, *sedulo*). The accentuation of many phrases, including several already mentioned, is shown by the incidence of the ictus in Plautus and Terence; e. g., *intér se*, *intér vos*, *apúd me*, *proptér me*, *malám rem* (see Lindsay, *Latin Language*, pp. 168 ff., *The Captivi of Plautus*, pp. 357 ff.).

Cogent evidence is afforded by the iambic shortening of initial syllables after short final syllables, e. g., *quis hūc, ut hæc, quid exprobras, ub(i) accubēs*.

The phenomena of syncope of final vowels within a phrase (*ac, nec, dein*), of aphaeresis (*amatu's, amatust, amatumst*), of elision and semi-elision<sup>3</sup> constitute the clearest proof that there was no pause within a breath-group in Latin.

Yet the word-ends are very unevenly distributed in the hexameter, and some explanation must be substituted for the old one, if that is to be rejected. Table I below shows the frequency of word-ends in the sixteen possible positions in the first 500 lines of the *Iliad* and of the *Aeneid*. The figures in the top line indicate the six feet, and the letters in the next line indicate the three possible positions of a word-end in each foot (*a* = after the first syllable, *b* = after the first short syllable, *c* = the end of the foot). In making the count the word-division commonly denoted in printed texts has been followed, except that Greek enclitics have been reckoned as parts of the words to which they are appended.

A glance at the table shows that current theory is out of harmony with the facts. Monro's rule, quoted above, that the third foot must not end with a word is violated by 21.6 per cent of the Homeric verses studied and by 15.6 per cent of the Vergilian. In fact one should not speak of an avoidance of word-ends at the end of any foot in the *Iliad*. It is true that coincidence between the end of words and of feet is somewhat less common in the *Aeneid* in the second, third, and fourth feet; perhaps it is no accident that all evidence more ancient than Eustathius for the avoidance of such coincidence is Roman.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, even in Vergil words end at 2*b* and 3*b* less often than at 2*c* and 3*c*, while words end at 4*b* less than one thirteenth as often as at 4*c*; no explanation of the position of word-ends in Vergil can be satisfactory if it neglects these facts.

The differences between the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* are more

<sup>3</sup> See especially Sommer, *Handbuch der lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*, pp. 290 ff., and Sturtevant and Kent, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See Bassett, *op. cit.*, p. 368, who, however, feels certain that the *παλαίοι*, whom Eustathius cites, were Greeks. Is it certain that they did not use Roman sources?

TABLE I.  
POSITION OF WORD-ENDS IN THE FIRST 500 VERSES OF  
ILLIAD AND AENEID.

Feet	1			2			3		
Place in Foot	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
% of Vss.									
of Iliad.	65.5	31.4	41.0	60.6	16.4	22.4	44.6	60.6	21.6
% of Vss.									
of Aeneid.	34.0	16.2	44.6	64.0	16.8	17.0	84.6	11.0	15.6
Feet	4			5			6		
Place in Foot	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
% of Vss.									
of Iliad.	47.4	2.2	62.4	24.4	49.8	24.8			1.2
% of Vss.									
of Aeneid.	78.2	3.8	52.4	2.0	46.6	60.4			1.8

numerous and striking than their points of resemblance. The percentages are nearly alike at 1a, 1c, 2a, 2b, 4b, 5b, and 6a, while they differ, in some cases very much indeed, in the nine other positions. The differences are most numerous and extensive in the third and fourth feet—the feet which students of caesura consider most important. Probably, therefore, the position of the word-ends in the verse is a function not so much of the verse, which is the same in both poems, as of the language, in which the two poems differ.

At any rate we must study the two sets of figures separately. Since the second one presents the greater number of characteristic features, we have a better chance of finding a satisfactory explanation of it, and consequently we shall start with that.

As to the first four feet of the *Aeneid*, the prominent features are the frequency of word-ends at 2a, 3a, and 4a, and their rarity at 3b and 4b. In the last two feet the relative frequencies are reversed; word-ends are extremely rare at 5a and 6a, but common at 5b.

All of these facts are easily explained by the effort which the Roman dactylic poets made to secure coincidence of accent and ictus in the last two feet and clash of accent and ictus in the first four feet (as I have shown in *CP.* XIV, pp. 373-385). For a word-end at a requires clash of accent and ictus, unless it is preceded by an accented monosyllable, and these are very rare



in Latin. Since most Latin words are dissyllables or trisyllables, the placing of word-ends at *a*, as in the first four feet, involves the rarity of word-ends at *b* and *c* in the same and the neighboring feet, while the avoidance of word-ends at *a*, as in the last two feet, leaves many word-ends for *b* and *c*. The frequency of word-ends at *4c* is therefore due in part to the avoidance of them at *5a*, where they would cause clash of accent and ictus in the fifth foot, and in part to the avoidance of word-ends at *4b*, where they would cause harmony of accent and ictus in the fourth foot.

There are, of course, other factors in the problem. The comparative rarity of word-ends at *b* in all feet except the fifth is in part due to the fact that words cannot end at *b* if the foot is a spondee. In the fifth foot word-ends are somewhat rarer at *b* than at *c* for two reasons. (1) A word-end at *5b* must be followed either by a short monosyllable or by a word of the rhythm  $\cup - -$  (monosyllabic verse-finals are so rare that they need not be taken into account). Both kinds of words are rare in Latin. Monosyllables constitute only about 19 per cent of Vergil's words, and a very large majority of Latin monosyllables are long; while trisyllables with iambic beginning constitute only about 6 per cent of Vergil's words.\* It is interesting to note that Vergil favored the latter verse-final as much as his resources allowed; in the last two feet words of this rhythm constitute 18 per cent of all words. (2) The only words that can end at *b* are short monosyllables (whose rarity has just been noted), and polysyllables ending in a trochee. I have no statistics as to the frequency of words with this cadence in Vergil's vocabulary; but our table shows that such words are uncommon in the interior of the verse (they are possible only if they end at *b*), and a glance at the text will show that they are in a minority at the end of the verse, if one excludes words with a short vowel before a single consonant, which would usually "make position" in the interior of the verse.

The position of word-ends in Homer cannot be explained with such completeness; but there is less to explain, since the extreme variation is far less. This fact indicates that Homeric usage

\* See *CP*. XIV, pp. 375-378.

is not controlled by any one factor of such strength as the Latin stress accent.

There remain such factors as had a minor effect upon the position of word-ends in Vergil. The fact that words cannot end at *b* when the foot is a spondee explains the comparative rarity of word-ends at *1b* and *2b*, and does a little toward explaining the almost total absence of word-ends at *4b*. It seems likely that the length and rhythmic character of the available words was of prime importance in fixing the position of the word-ends in Homer. The matter is so complicated that it can be satisfactorily studied only at the ends of the verse. Since the first foot presents merely an average number of word-ends in each of the three places, with the anticipated reduction in the second, we shall make our investigation at the other end of the verse.

We should expect each type of word which is possible at the end of the line to appear there with the same relative frequency as in the verse as a whole. In Table II the first column exhibits the various types of words which are possible at the end of the verse, and the second column records the proportion of words of each type in 3500 words of *Iliad* I and II.\* But before we base a prediction upon these numbers, we must make three corrections. There is a pause in the sense at the close of at least two thirds of Homer's lines, and no line is closed by a word which stands in unusually close syntactic relation to what follows, such as *καί*, prepositions, the article, and relative pronouns and adverbs. Now these words which cannot stand at the end of a line are nearly all monosyllables and dissyllables, and furthermore there are many other monosyllables and dissyllables which usually stand at or near the beginning of a sentence or clause, and so can but rarely stand at the end of a line. The poet, then, will be found to use fewer monosyllables and dissyllables at the end of the line than the numbers in Column II suggest.

\* In compiling these statistics I have reckoned enclitics with the words to which they are appended (*Ἄτρεϊδης τε* = \_ \_ \_ \_), and I have counted elided syllables (*μυρ'* = \_ \_ \_ , *δ'* = \_), but I have recorded words with synizesis in the form which they show in the verse (*Πηληϊάδew* = \_ \_ \_ \_).

TABLE II.  
VERSE-FINALS IN THE ILLAD.

Possible words that may end verse.	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
I	Proportion in verse as a whole	Less words unlikely as verse-finals	Proportion to 37.35	With correction for spondaic verses	With correction for rhythmic character of preceding words	Actual proportion in lines studied
—	20.11	.68	1.82	1.82	.98	.9
—	22.29	14.00	37.48	37.48	26.50	26.2
—	8.29	8.29	22.20	29.08	30.62	43.0
—	4.69	4.69	12.56	3.27	1.76	.9
—	5.66	5.66	15.15	19.85	26.29	16.4
—	1.46	1.46	3.91	1.02	.72	3.4
—	1.97	1.97	5.27	6.90	12.44	8.7
—	.43	.43	1.15	.30	.31	.1
—	.11	.11	.29	.08	.10	.2
—	.03	.03	.08	.10	.13	.1
—	.03	.03	.08	.10	.13	.1
			37.35			

In order to determine the amount of the necessary correction, I have counted the parts of speech at the ends of 1000 lines. I find that 94.5 per cent of the line-finals are either nouns, verbs or adjectives; adverbs and pronouns are so rare that they may safely be neglected. Now 3.4 per cent of Homer's monosyllables and 62.8 per cent of his dissyllables with long initial syllable are verbs, nouns, or adjectives. In Column III, therefore, we substitute for the first two numbers of Column II respectively 3.4 and 62.8 per cent of those numbers.

Since the total of the percentages in Column III is only 37.35, we must reduce them to a denominator of 100 for purposes of comparison. This is done in Column IV.

Some types of words are possible verse-finals only if the fifth foot is a dactyl, and others only if the fifth foot is a spondee. Since Homer favored the dactyl in the fifth foot, we shall expect to find more of the words which require a dactyl than the numbers in Column IV indicate, and fewer of the words which require a spondee. Since spondaic verses occur at the rate of

about 4.6 per 100, we must distribute 4.6 among the word-types which require spondaic verses in proportion to the frequency of these word-types. It was never necessary for the poet to place a fifth spondee before a verse-final of the rhythm  $\bar{\cup}$  or  $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ , and, as a matter of fact, he very rarely did so. We may therefore assign all of the 4.6 to the rhythmic types  $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ ,  $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ ,  $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ , and  $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$  ( $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ ,  $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ , etc. do not occur in the lines studied). Since words of these types aggregate 17.91 per cent of Homeric words capable of standing at the end of a line, we must multiply the number which stands in Column IV opposite each of them by  $\frac{4.6}{17.91} = .26$ .

The remainder of the 17.91 per cent, which Column IV assigned to the verse-finals requiring spondaic lines, must be distributed among the rhythmic types which require a dactyl in the fifth foot, in proportion to the frequency of these several types. That is, we must add to each number in Column IV opposite  $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ ,  $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ ,  $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ ,  $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ , or  $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ , an amount equal to the same number times  $\frac{17.91-4.6}{42.78} = .31$ . The results of these operations appear in Column V.

Again, the choice of the final word of the line must have depended in part upon the ease with which another word could be fitted in before it. Table III<sup>7</sup> exhibits the proportion of Homer's words of each of the rhythmic types possible before each of the possible types of verse-finals. Each block is headed by an indication of the rhythmic type or types of verse-finals treated therein. The first columns of the several blocks list the rhythmic types which can stand before such verse-finals. The second columns show what proportion of all Homeric words belong to the several rhythmic types of the first columns. The third columns show what proportion the numbers in the second columns constitute of the totals of the second columns.

The totals of the second columns indicate the proportion of Homeric words which can stand before the several types of

<sup>7</sup>In making this computation I have reckoned words at the end of the line in their normal rhythmic form ( $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu = \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ ,  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta} = \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ ,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota = \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ ,  $\delta\acute{\rho}\omicron\iota\alpha = \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ ), while other words have been counted in the rhythmic value which they have in each occurrence ( $\mu\upsilon\rho\iota' = \bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ ,  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$  before  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha = \bar{\cup}$ ,  $\tau\iota\varsigma\ \tau' = \bar{\cup}$ ,  $\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\omega$  in line 15 =  $\bar{\cup}\bar{\cup}$ ). Consequently elided monosyllables have not been counted at all.

TABLE III.

RHYTHMIC TYPES POSSIBLE BEFORE THE POSSIBLE VERSE-FINALS.

	- - - - -			- - - - -			- - - - -			- - - - -			- - - - -			- - - - -			- - - - -		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
-		15.3	50.5		6.8	29.7		6.8	19.9	-		15.3	35.7		6.8						6.8
-		6.8	22.4		7.6	33.2		13.2	38.7			6.8	15.9		15.3						15.3
-		3.5	11.5		4.1	17.9		4.5	13.2			9.1	21.2		9.1						7.6
-		3.3	10.9		2.1	9.1		2.5	7.3			3.5	8.2		3.5						9.1
-		1.1	3.6		.8	3.5		4.3	12.6			2.5	5.8		2.5						4.1
-		.1	.3		1.3	5.7		.9	2.6			3.3	7.7		3.3						5.7
-		.2	.7		.1	.4		1.2	3.5			.5	1.2		.5						2.5
-					.1	.4		.4	1.2			.4	.9		.4						2.1
-								.1	.3			1.1	2.6		1.1						.8
-								.1	.3			.1	.2		.1						2.2
-								.1	.3			.1	.2		.1						.4
-								.1	.3			.2	.5		.2						1.3
-																					.1
-																					.3
-																					.1
Totals		30.3			22.9			34.1				42.9									58.4
Corrected		17.41			22.9			34.1				42.9									58.4

verse-finals. Evidently the most difficult types of verse-finals to manage are  $- \bar{\sigma}$  and  $--- \bar{\sigma}$  (with the assumption, of course, that they are to be preceded by dactyls). Now, more than half (15.3 out of 30.3) of the words which are possible before  $\bar{\sigma}$  and  $-- \bar{\sigma}$  are long monosyllables; and before these the same difficulty would arise as before  $- \bar{\sigma}$  and  $--- \bar{\sigma}$ . We must therefore substitute for the total in the first block  $30.3 - 15.3 + (15.3 \times .229) = 17.41$ . This is done in the last line of Table III.

We now multiply the numbers in Table II, Column V, by the numbers in the last line of Table III, and reduce the results to decimals of their sum. These are the numbers which appear in Table II, Column VI, which may therefore be considered as a prediction of the relative frequency of the several types of verse-finals.

In Column VII of Table II we have their actual proportions in 1000 lines of the *Iliad*. In spite of several striking divergencies, the two columns correspond in several important respects. The types of first, second, third, and fourth frequency are the same in both, and, in both, the four types at the bottom of the table are much less frequent than any others. These correspondencies are enough to show that the rhythmic character of the available words did, in the main, determine the character of the verse-finals.

The divergencies between the two columns are in part due to properties of the rhythmic types which we have not succeeded in measuring. For example, rhythmic types which were convenient at the end of the verse were convenient also in other positions, and so there arose a certain rivalry between the several positions. Column VI of Table II calls for the rhythmic type  $- \bar{\sigma} \bar{\sigma} - \bar{\sigma}$  as the final of 12.44 per cent of all verses, or 62 verses out of five hundred. Since there are about 3280 words in five hundred lines, and 1.97 per cent of Homer's words are of the type  $- \bar{\sigma} \bar{\sigma} - \bar{\sigma}$ , there were available in five hundred lines only about 65 words of this type. Now, the type is convenient at the beginning of the verse (as in I 13, 180, 372), beginning with the second foot (as in I 398, 530), and beginning with the fourth foot (as in I 520, 525). The claims of these positions prevented the final position from receiving its full quota of words of this type. Similar or contrary considerations must apply to other types.

Again, the influence of the common verse-tags can scarcely be measured. It is particularly noteworthy that there are many tags ending with the proper names Ἀθήνη, Ἀπόλλων, Ἀχιλλεύς, Ἀχαιοί, and Ὀδυσσεύς, all of which contribute to the explanation of the troublesome discrepancy in the third line of Table II.

Another factor was the preference for sense-pauses at certain points of the verse, a matter which we shall presently have to study. Since such pauses were rare in the last two feet but favored at the end of the fourth foot, it is not strange that verse-finals of the type --- ◡ are more common and those of the type -- ◡ less common than our statistics would lead us to expect. The same consideration helps to explain the great frequency of lines ending in dissyllable + trisyllable (τοῖσι δ' ἀνίστη, etc.)—again a partial explanation of the third line of Table II.

Column VII of Table II gives a satisfactory explanation of the last two numbers for the *Iliad* in Table I. .9 per cent of 1000 lines end in a monosyllable, and 26.2 per cent in a dissyllable, while 1.2 per cent of 500 lines have a word-end at 6a, and 24.8 per cent have a word-end at 5c; the two pairs of numbers would be the same if they referred to precisely the same lines. The slight difference between the 43 per cent of lines ending in ◡ - ◡ and the 49.8 per cent of lines with a word-end at 5b is accounted for by the few line-ends such as μάλα δῆν, and the somewhat more frequent σὺ Κάλχαν, δὲ μάντις, etc.

As we recede from the end of the line, the possible combinations rapidly become more numerous; but we should be able to reach an approximately correct result for 5a and 4c. The attempt to do this is made in Table IV. The various possible combinations of rhythmic types are indicated at the left (a comma marks the end of a word). The *Italic* numbers are taken from Table II, Column VII, and represent the actual frequency of the verse-finals. The heavy-faced numbers are taken from the third columns in Table III. At the right we have the frequency of the several combinations, the actual frequency if the number is *Italic*, if not, the anticipated frequency.

The totals, 36.39 and 49.18, do not correspond very well with the 24.4 and 62.4 of Table I. The disturbing factor is undoubtedly the avoidance of sense pauses at 5a and 4b and the preference for sense-pauses at 4c. As we shall see, from 11 to

15 per cent of the lines of the *Iliad* have punctuation at 4c—more than at any other point within the verse. It is safe to say that at least 15 per cent of the lines had a sense-pause here. If we add 15 to 49.18 per cent of 85, the result is 56.8, which falls only a little short of the 62.4 of Table I.

TABLE IV.  
INVOLVE WORD-ENDS AT 5a.

						<i>Frequency</i>
u u _ u						16.40
_ _ u						.90
u, u _ u	43.0	×	.199		=	8.53
u, _ _ u	26.2	×	.333		=	8.69
u u, u	.9	×	.115		=	.10
u, u, _ u	26.2	×	.397	×	.199	= 1.58
u, _ , u	.9	×	.334	×	.199	= .04
u, _ , u	.9	×	.505	×	.333	= .15
Anticipated frequency						36.39

INVOLVE WORD-ENDS AT 4c.

							<i>Frequency</i>
- u - u							8.70
- - - u							3.40
- , u - u	16.4	×	.357		=		5.85
- , - - u	.9	×	.505		=		.45
- u, u - u	43.0	×	.387		=	16.64	
- u, - , u	26.2	×	.179		=	4.69	
- u, u, - u	.9	×	.109		=	.10	
- , u, u - u	43.0	×	.199	×	.357	=	3.06
- , u, u, - u	26.2	×	.333	×	.357	=	3.11
- , u, u, - u	.9	×	.115	×	.357	=	.04
- u, u, - u	26.2	×	.397	×	.387	=	2.98
- u, - u, u	.9	×	.334	×	.387	=	.08
- u, u, - u	9.	×	.505	×	.179	=	.08
Anticipated frequency							49.18

It appears, then, that the position of the word-ends in the *Aeneid*, and presumably in other Latin hexameter verse, is chiefly due to the poet's desire for harmony of accent and ictus in the last two feet and clash of accent and ictus in the first four feet. In the *Iliad* there are several factors, of which we have been able to identify three. (1) The comparative rarity of word-ends after the first short syllable of a foot is largely due to the fact that there is no such point in a spondee. (2) The length and rhythmic character of the available words deter-



mined the position of a large proportion of the word-ends, at least in the last two feet. (3) A favored position for a sense-pause tended to have a disproportionately large number of word-ends, and the neighboring positions to have relatively few word-ends.

While there are doubtless other factors in the problem, these are clearly the important ones. At any rate, there is no need to invoke any direct bearing of word-ends within a phrase upon the structure of the verse.

## II

There can be no doubt that sense-pauses in Greek and Latin were determined by the same factors as in the modern languages, and so the opinions of modern scholars in this matter may be accepted as having some validity; but there is room for difference of opinion and of practice in regard to the pauses in one's own language, and it is much more difficult to be certain about a foreign language—especially one which is no longer used as a vernacular. It is no wonder, then, that scholars who have believed that there must be a pause in the third foot of the dactylic hexameter have usually succeeded in finding one! If we base statistics upon our own judgment of where pauses are proper, we shall probably find that the facts accord with our prepossessions.

Fortunately, however, classical texts have been punctuated by their editors without reference to a theory of caesura, and a point usually corresponds with a pause. Not all pauses are marked by any current system of punctuation, and so we cannot hope to obtain complete statistics on this basis; but probably the points are distributed through the line in about the same proportion as the pauses. In making the count, only English and American editions have been used,\* in the belief that the English system of punctuation is less mechanical than some others.

\* *Iliad*, ed. Monro and Allen; *Odyssey*, ed. Allen; Hesiod, ed. Paley; Apollonius, ed. Mooney; Theocritus, ed. Kynaston; Theognis, ed. Hudson-Williams; Vergil, ed. Hirtzel; Lucretius, ed. Kelsey; Horace, ed. Morris; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Laing's selections; Ovid, elegiac selections in Ramsey. The members of the Classical Proseminar in Columbia University in the spring of 1920 assisted in constructing Table V.

TABLE V.  
POINTS PER 100 LINES.

	17, I, II	17, XXIII, XXIV	04, I-III	Hes., Theog.	Hes., Op.	Apollonius	Theocritus	Theognis (hexameters)	Am. I, II	Am. II, III	Religious	Georgics	Lucretius	Horace, Sat.	Ovid, Met.	Ovid, elegiacs (hexameters)
a	2	1.1	.7	.3	0	.7	1.1	.6	.6	.1	2.2	.8	.7	1.3	.9	1.7
b	2.0	2.1	3.7	1.4	.7	4.4	1.6	3.0	.7	1.3	1.9	.7	.4	1.1	4.0	2.2
c	7.6	8.0	8.2	6.0	5.4	7.1	8.3	5.6	6.7	5.8	9.8	5.7	2.6	6.4	9.4	7.0
d	6.6	5.4	6.3	8.5	8.9	11.1	9.6	6.5	9.6	13.6	8.1	7.0	4.1	10.5	9.4	7.5
e	.4	.4	.6	.5	.2	0	.9	1.6	.9	1.0	2.1	.6	.7	1.5	.6	0
f	0	0	.1	.2	0	.1	.5	.4	2.3	.9	.8	.5	.9	3.0	.1	.1
g	11.3	12.3	10.8	10.0	15.2	7.1	18.0	6.8	13.5	16.2	22.7	6.7	11.3	28.2	36.8	28.3
h	10.2	11.3	11.2	10.5	7.2	9.1	18.8	17.7	1.0	1.1	5.3	.8	.6	4.3	1.1	.6
i	0	0	.1	.1	0	0	1.2	0	.6	.7	1.1	.6	.2	1.2	1.3	.4
j	3.2	4.3	2.4	2.9	6.8	1.5	3.9	5.0	11.2	14.4	11.3	9.3	3.6	11.0	10.1	9.9
k	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.1	.1	.2	0	.1	.3	.1	.4
l	11.3	14.7	12.0	8.6	11.2	18.5	27.2	24.0	1.5	2.0	9.9	2.9	2.4	15.4	3.6	3.0
m	.1	0	0	0	.4	0	.3	.9	.1	0	.1	0	.1	1.5	0	0
n	.1	.1	.1	0	.1	.1	.8	.9	1.2	1.3	5.1	1.4	1.8	7.5	2.8	2.8
o	0	0	.3	0	0	0	1.2	.4	.7	.9	4.3	.8	.8	9.2	2.4	2.4
p	0	0	.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0	0
q	66.2	65.9	71.9	64.3	65.8	43.9	63.0	50.1	55.5	51.0	75.6	69.8	53.8	49.8	67.4	77.3
Totals	119.2	135.6	128.5	113.3	121.9	103.6	156.4	123.5	106.2	110.4	160.5	109.6	84.1	155.2	160.0	143.6

Table V shows the number of points (of all kinds except [ ] and < >) per 100 lines in each of the seventeen possible positions, and in eight passages of Greek and as many of Latin. The figures in each column are based upon the study of 1,000 lines of text, except that less than that is available for Hesiod's *Works and Days*, for Theognis' hexameters, and for Vergil's *Eclogues*.

It appears, as was to be expected, that some of these texts have much more punctuation than others. Poems of colloquial tone, particularly if they contain much conversation, inevitably have a great deal of punctuation. Furthermore, some editors use many points and others comparatively few. Since neither kind of variation is significant for our purpose, they have both been eliminated in Table VI by reducing all the columns to a denominator of 100.

Here, as in our study of the word-ends, the differences between the two languages are more numerous and striking than the likenesses. In both languages about one-half of all pauses come at the end of the line; this was undoubtedly a cardinal element of poetic technique. A corollary of this is the avoidance of pauses at *6a*; the only poet studied (Horace) that has an appreciable number of pauses at *6a*, is the one who has the smallest proportion of pauses at the end of the line. In both languages there are more pauses in the third foot than in any other, while the fourth foot stands second. This also is in large part a corollary of the fondness for pauses at the end of the line; since the sixth foot is dissyllabic, the middle of the line falls late in the third foot, and the sense-pauses must tend to cluster there. Nevertheless, the differences in detail between Greek and Latin are particularly striking in these feet, and so the treatment of pauses in them can scarcely be ascribed directly to a poetic technique which was common to the writers of both languages. Another point of resemblance between the Greek and Latin hexameters is the avoidance of sense-pauses at *4b* and, in a lesser degree, at *5a*. I have no explanation to offer for these last peculiarities; just for that reason I suspect that they may have metrical significance.

The Greek half of Table VI shows some further features which Latin hexameters do not share. The favorite position for a pause within the line is *4c*; while, after *4b* and *6a*, pauses are

TABLE VI.  
PROPORTION OF ALL POINTS IN EACH POSITION.

	17, I, II	17, XXIII, XXIV	17, I-III	Hes., Theog.	Hes., Op.	Apollohus	Theocritus	Theognis (hexameters)	Am., I, II	Am., XI, XII	Ergastus	Georgics	Lucretius	Horace, Sat.	Ovid, Met.	Ovid, elegiacs (hexameters)
6	2	9	5	3	0	7	7	5	6	1	1.4	7	8	8	6	1.2
1 b	1.7	1.7	2.9	1.2	6	4.1	1.0	2.4	7	1.2	1.2	6	5	7	2.7	1.5
0	6.4	6.4	6.4	5.3	4.4	6.7	5.3	4.5	6.3	5.3	6.1	5.2	3.1	5.4	6.3	4.8
6	5.5	4.3	4.9	7.5	7.3	10.4	6.1	5.3	9.0	12.3	5.0	6.4	4.8	6.6	6.3	5.2
2 b	3	3	5	4	2	0	6	1.3	8	9	1.3	5	8	1.0	4	0
0	0	0	1	2	0	1	3	3	2.2	8	5	5	1.1	1.9	1	1
6	9.5	9.8	8.4	8.8	12.5	6.7	11.5	5.5	12.7	14.7	14.1	7.9	13.4	18.2	24.5	19.7
3 b	8.7	9.0	8.7	9.3	5.9	8.5	12.0	14.3	9	1.0	3.3	7	7	2.8	7	4
0	0	0	1	1	0	0	8	0	6	6	7	5	2	8	9	3
6	2.7	3.4	1.9	2.6	5.6	1.4	2.5	4.0	10.5	13.0	7.0	8.6	4.3	7.1	6.7	6.9
4 b	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	1	3
0	9.5	11.7	9.3	7.6	9.2	17.3	17.4	19.5	1.4	1.8	6.2	2.7	2.9	9.9	2.4	2.1
6	1	0	0	0	3	0	2	7	1	0	1	0	1	1.0	0	0
5 b	1	1	1	0	1	1	5	7	1.1	1.2	3.2	1.3	2.1	4.8	1.9	1.9
0	0	0	2	0	0	0	8	3	7	8	2.7	7	9	5.9	1.6	1.7
6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0
0	55.5	52.5	56.0	53.8	54.0	44.0	40.3	40.8	52.3	46.2	47.1	63.7	64.0	32.1	44.9	53.8

most carefully avoided at 2*c*, and 3*c*, and almost as carefully at 5*c*. These facts remind one of the theory (discussed above, pp. 289 ff.) that word-ends were avoided at the ends of certain feet to avoid separating the line into smaller units. We had to reject the theory on the ground that word-ends are not phonetically perceptible; but there are inevitable pauses at the ends of the breath-groups, and these might well break the line into shorter units.

It seems probable, then, that the Greek poets were careful to mark the end of most hexameters by a pause; but, to avoid monotony, they occasionally obscured the metrical units (1) by an additional pause at the end of the fourth foot, or (2) by a pause at the end of the fourth foot without one at the end of the verse. The first device had the effect of a tetrameter followed by a dimeter, as in *Il.* I 116:

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐθέλω δόμεναι πάλιν, εἰ τό γ' ἄμεινον.

The second device went even further, since it left the verse-end quite unmarked, and substituted for the hexameter various incommensurate groups of units (tetrameter followed by trimeter, or by catalectic pentameter, or by some other unit), as in *Il.* II 76 f.:

Ἦ τοι ὁ γ' ὡς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο, τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη  
Νέστορ,

and in *Il.* I 68 f.:

Ἦ τοι ὁ γ' ὡς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο, τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη  
Κάλχας Θεστορίδης.

Why this particular place of breaking the line was favored, and the breaks at 2*c*, 3*c*, and 5*c* disfavored, I cannot say. If we knew that the hexameter line had developed out of a couplet consisting of tetrameter and dimeter, we might regard the practice as traditional, but there is no other evidence for such an origin.\*

Whatever the explanation may be, we must conclude that the technique of the Greek hexameter involved (1) a pause at the end of most lines, (2) frequent pauses at 4*c*, (3) strict avoidance of pauses at 4*b* and 6*a*, and (4) less rigorous avoidance of pauses at 2*c*, 3*c*, and throughout the fifth foot.

\* Witte's chain of hypotheses in *Glotta* IV, 1 ff. is not evidence.

The Latin half of Table VI shows many differences from the Greek. They fall into two groups. Pauses are not rigorously excluded from any positions in the verse except 4*b* and 6*a*, and a few pauses are found even in these two places. Pauses are not uncommon at 2*c* and 3*c*, and they are not avoided at all at 5*b* and 5*c*. All these differences point toward a less rigorous technique; they were perhaps indirectly due to the added difficulty which the Roman poets faced in the need to secure harmony of accent and ictus in the last two feet of the verse and clash of accent and ictus in the other four.

This latter requirement of the Latin hexameter is directly responsible for the second group of differences between the two halves of Table VI. In the first four feet we find in the Roman poets more pauses than in the Greek poets at 3*a* and 4*a*, positions which involve an ictus on the ultima, and fewer pauses at 3*b* and 4*c*, positions which usually require an ictus on the accented syllable. In the last two feet, on the contrary, the Roman poets have more pauses than the Greeks at 5*b* and 5*c*, positions which usually involve an ictus on the accented syllable.

It appears, then, that of the four theories which gave rise to the doctrine of caesura, the only one that is both valid and important is the theory of rhetorical pauses, which modern scholars would prefer to denominate sense-pauses, or, if thinking of phonetics as one must in the treatment of verse, ends of breath-groups. These were manipulated for the double purpose of marking the chief metrical unit, the verse, and of introducing variety by occasionally obscuring the unit. The Greek poets were particularly fond of using the break after the fourth foot for the latter purpose, while they avoided ending a breath-group in certain other places.

Nearly all deviations of Roman practice from Greek can be explained as due to the effort of the Roman poets to secure conflict of accent and ictus in the first four feet and harmony of accent and ictus in the last two feet. This fact confirms my demonstration, referred to above, that there was such an effort on the part of the Roman dactylic poets.

If the term caesura is to be retained at all, it should be used only of regular metrical pauses, such as occur in the so-called dactylic pentameter and in Asclepiadean verses.

EDGEWATER, N. J.

E. H. STURTEVANT.

## II.—ORIGINAL ELEMENTS IN CICERO'S IDEAL CONSTITUTION.

Although Cicero's third book *De Legibus* is chiefly concerned with the officials of the state, it does in fact contain what we should call a fairly complete constitution, stating the fundamental law in regard to the legislative, as well as the executive and judicial, branches of the government. We have here, not a description of an ideal state and its laws, both public and private, such as is contained in the treatises of Plato and Aristotle, but an actual code of fundamental public law, corresponding closely in content and form to our idea of a "written constitution." It seems that a document of this character, whether theoretical or for practical use, had never before been produced.

The modern conception of a written constitution includes several elements.<sup>1</sup> First, it is entirely embodied in one—or sometimes more than one—specially important document. Second, it is a product of conscious art, "the result of a deliberate effort on the part of a state to lay down once for all a body of coherent provisions under which its government shall be established and conducted." Third, it is of the rigid type; i. e., it stands "above the other laws of the state"; it "is repealable in a different way, exerts a superior force." Exactly such a constitution, of course, is that of the United States. The unwritten constitution, on the other hand, consists to a great extent of customary law, although it may be partially embodied in statutes, is of gradual growth, and is "promulgated or repealed in the same way as ordinary laws." Well-known examples of this type are the Roman and British constitutions.

No ancient state had a written or rigid constitution such as has been described. Complete and consciously produced codes of law, including constitutional provisions, existed, of course. But, as has been stated, the collection of "laws" in *De Legibus* III is the only ancient document which seems to correspond to the modern idea of a constitution of this kind. It is a single, consciously produced document, confining itself strictly to fun-

<sup>1</sup> For the following definitions see Bryce, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1901, pp. 126 ff.

damental public law, according to our definition of public law. But here we must note that the Roman definition was more inclusive than that usually accepted today. The three divisions of Roman public law were *sacra*, *sacerdotes* and *magistratus*.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the laws in Book II—the basic provisions for the established religion of the state—form a part of Cicero's code of fundamental public law. This body of religious law is, however, considered an entirely distinct branch of the constitution, and those parts of it which have a political significance are for the most part repeated in the political section.

Was Cicero, then, the originator of this new idea of a "written constitution" of the type common in modern times? Did he intend his laws actually to be put in force as the constitution of a reformed Roman Republic, and protected from easy repeal by being placed "above the other laws of the state"? A number of clues to Cicero's thought in regard to his code can be found in the *De Legibus*, but they do not enable us to answer these questions completely. Certainly he did not anticipate any immediate practical use being made of these laws, but was looking forward to a possible reform of the Roman state and its government in the indefinite future. He implies in one passage<sup>3</sup> that they were written *non rei publicae sed studii et delectationis causa*, and again he admits that they would not be suitable to the degenerate Romans of his own day, but are intended for a future body of Roman citizens, who may return to the virtues and ideals of their ancestors.<sup>4</sup> But when we ask exactly how Cicero thought his code might be used by those future Romans we find ourselves in the realm of conjecture.

There is one element of the modern written constitution which Cicero might certainly have had in mind. That is its rigidity; the fact that it is more difficult to repeal than other laws. For although the Roman people in their assemblies, like the British Parliament, could theoretically pass any law, and

<sup>2</sup> Ulpian Dig. I, 1, 1, 2; *Publicum ius est quod ad statum rei Romanae spectat*, . . . *Publicum ius in sacris, in sacerdotibus, in magistratibus consistit*.

<sup>3</sup> II, 14.

<sup>4</sup> III, 20: . . . *non enim de hoc senatu nec his de hominibus qui nunc sunt, sed de futuris, si qui forte his legibus parere voluerint, haec habetur oratio*.



therefore repeal any law, there were certain legislative acts which they felt practically bound not to perform. Any intentional invasion of the rights of the gods was unthinkable, and any accidental interference with such rights was carefully guarded against in the preambles to all laws.<sup>5</sup> Laws which took the form of agreements between the Roman commonwealth and another party, such as treaties, for example, were put under the protection of the gods by being sworn to by a magistrate as the official representative of the state.<sup>6</sup> The nation was bound by a similar oath to the fundamental constitutional duty of maintaining the republican form of government; i. e., of never allowing the monarchy to be restored.<sup>7</sup> Laws thus sworn to were considered either absolutely irrevocable, or, in the case of agreements with foreign nations or individuals, revocable only under certain definite conditions, although from an abstract legal point of view this was of course not the case.

There was another kind of law of an intermediate class, which held a position above that of ordinary laws. Such were the self-imposed rules which regulated the law-making activities of the assembly.<sup>8</sup> An example is the law against *privilegia*. A bill which violated one of these rules could not become a law until the regulating law had been repealed. For example, a law containing a *privilegium* would not be valid unless the general law prohibiting *privilegia* had been repealed before it was passed. In the later Republic the repeal of any of these general regulations would hardly have been thought of; they were embodied in ancient laws which were considered a permanent part of the constitution. Hence the idea of his "laws" being made superior to other laws might easily have existed in Cicero's mind.

But it is more difficult to suppose that he had any definite idea of the existence of such a thing as a rigid, written constitution, put in force all at once as the basic law of a state. There is a possibility, of course, that he thought of some future *dictator rei publicae constituendae*, more moderate and scrupu-

<sup>5</sup> Mommsen, Roem. Staatsrecht III, p. 335, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit. I, pp. 235 f.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit. III, p. 362; II, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit. III, pp. 334 ff.; 360 ff.

lous than Sulla,—such a man as he had hoped Pompey might turn out to be—who would use his constitution approximately in that way. But he would have been more likely to think of such a reformer's using it as a basis for a complete new code of law, which would include private as well as public law, as all the codes of the past had done; or else as a guide in the reform of the existing constitution.

It seems clear, at any rate, that Cicero did approach more closely to the modern idea of a written constitution than any other ancient statesman or political theorist. Whether he fully realized it or not, he actually seems to have written the first constitution of this kind in existence. And this new idea of drafting a document containing a complete constitution, and excluding all other kinds of law, is probably the most striking element of originality in the *De Legibus*.

The problem of discovering the original elements in the individual laws is much more concrete. Absolutely new provisions are, of course, rare. Cicero was an eclectic in political theory as well as in other branches of philosophy.<sup>9</sup> Most of his originality appears in provisions which have the character of compromises, and the resulting balanced constitution is an attempt to find the golden mean between the extremes of different periods and different parties. One of the most interesting things about the code is its clear-cut treatment of the unwritten elements of the Roman constitution—the *mores maiorum*. Some of these unwritten rules were less definite than others, and in many cases their interpretation and validity were matters of party strife. The portions of this body of unwritten law which Cicero adopts are here embodied by him in definite written form.

Let us first consider the changes which are recommended by Cicero in the legal status of the Senate. By *eius decreta rata sunt*<sup>10</sup> nothing can be meant except that senatorial decrees are to be classed definitely as laws of the state. This had certainly never been the fact from a strictly legal point of view, although custom had made it practically true to a great extent. By this provision another independent legislative body is added to the assemblies of the whole people and of the plebs. In his

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Cauer, *Ciceros politisches Denken*, Berlin 1903, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>10</sup> § 10.

commentary,<sup>11</sup> however, Cicero makes it clear that the legislative power of the assemblies is to remain superior to that of the Senate, which would make it possible for one of the assemblies to repeal a law passed by the Senate. And he evidently had no idea of recommending any great changes in the relative spheres of action of Senate and People, as is clear from his other laws.

His intention to establish legally and to increase to some extent the powers of the Senate is shown in other passages of the laws also. The minor officials, including the quaestors, are to be legally bound to execute all commands of the Senate in addition to performing their regular functions.<sup>12</sup> We have no evidence that the Senate ever actually had any such legal rights over these officials. Also, the number of praetors may be fixed by senatorial decree as well as by popular law,<sup>13</sup> and the appointment of a dictator is made absolutely dependent on the Senate's decree,<sup>14</sup> the consul being deprived of all discretion in the matter.

The most important actual change made by these "laws" is the provision of a firm legal basis for the power which the Senate already held practically, thus removing the most important claims of the Senate from the realm of controversy. As we have seen, however, no attempt is made to deprive the People of their legal supremacy.

Cicero's provision in regard to membership in the Senate is somewhat obscure: *omnes magistratus auspiciū iudiciūque habento, exque is senatus esto*.<sup>15</sup> This might be thought to mean that all magistrates are automatically to become members of the Senate. Another interpretation is that Cicero was thinking only of the *magistratus maiores*; this would mean that the requirement for entrance would be the holding of the aedileship. Or Cicero might merely have meant that only men who had held some magistracy could be admitted to the Senate, leaving the decision as to which ex-magistrates should become senators to the censors.

The first interpretation seems most unlikely, as such a rule

<sup>11</sup> § 28: *cum potestas in populo, auctoritas in senatu sit . . .*

<sup>12</sup> § 6: *quodcumque senatus creverit agunto.*

<sup>13</sup> § 8: *quotcumque senatus creverit populusve iusserit, tot sunt.*

<sup>14</sup> § 8: *. . . si senatus creverit . . .*

<sup>15</sup> § 10.

would give seats in the Senate to all the young men who had held any of the offices of what was later called the vigintivirate, as well as to the ex-quaestors. The second interpretation seems to be excluded by the fact that Cicero expressly says *omnes magistratus*. The third explanation of Cicero's words seems to be the only reasonable one. If we accept it, we must interpret the words *sublata cooptatione censoria*<sup>16</sup> as abrogating the censors' legal right to go outside the list of ex-magistrates in their choice. This law, then, simply embodies in definite form approximately the practice actually followed for some time before the reforms of Sulla. It is a compromise between the older principle of free choice by the censors and the Sullan law attaching entrance to the Senate to the holding of a particular magistracy. Cicero obviously had in mind the method of choice actually in use; i. e., that a vacancy should normally be filled by the ex-magistrate of highest rank who was not already a member, with due regard for moral character.<sup>17</sup> He says nothing about the number of senators being fixed, but we may suppose that this was taken for granted. In most cases, of course, this left the censors little actual power in the matter, and we must agree with Cicero's statement<sup>18</sup> that this is a democratic provision, as it practically left the choice of senators to the people.

Two innovations in regard to the popular assemblies may be noted. In the first place, the method of voting proposed by Cicero<sup>19</sup> seems to be quite original. It embodies a compromise between the old method of viva voce voting and the secret ballot used in Cicero's own time. The people are to have the ballot and freedom in the use of it, but it is no longer to be secret; a man's ballot is to be shown to any of the *optimates* who wish to see it or to whom he wishes to exhibit it.<sup>20</sup> This plan preserves

<sup>16</sup> In Cicero's commentary, § 27.

<sup>17</sup> § 7: *Censores . . . probum in senatu ne relinquonto. § 10: Is ordo vitio vacato. Cf. commentary, § 29: nam cum omni vitio carere lex iubeat, ne veniet quidem in eum ordinem quisquam vitii particeps.*

<sup>18</sup> § 27: *populare sane neminem in summum locum nisi per populum venire sublata cooptatione censoria.*

<sup>19</sup> § 10: *Creatio magistratuum, iudicia populi, iussa vetita cum suffragio consciuntur, optumatis nota, plebi libera sunt. Cf. Cicero's commentary, §§ 33-39.*

<sup>20</sup> In regard to this law, the question at once arises: exactly whom

the power and freedom of the assembly, but also gives full opportunity for the exertion of influence or pressure on individual voters by the aristocracy.

The other *novum* in regard to the assemblies is the rule making the presiding magistrate legally responsible for any use of force or similar irregularity at meetings of an assembly.<sup>21</sup> Cicero quotes a precedent for putting the blame on the presiding official in such cases, since he had the power of dismissing the assembly at any time, but it is clear that this responsibility had never been fixed by law, and that such officials had never been liable to prosecution. This law certainly makes them so liable.<sup>22</sup>

In the provisions in regard to the state officials there are several interesting points to be noticed. The law which fixes the rank of the aedile<sup>23</sup> is rather obscure. As this office is taken up immediately after the minor magistracies, the treatment following the ascending order, Cicero may have intended to indicate by this sentence merely that he was now passing to the *maiores*, the aedileship being the lowest of these, and occupying a sort of middle ground between the two classes. But considering the extreme conciseness of these laws, it seems that he must have meant more than what would have been obvious to his readers without being stated. If so, the meaning can only be that the aedileship is to be a necessary preliminary to the holding of the offices above it. In that case, Cicero is proposing a legally fixed *cursus honorum*. In his provisions in regard to the minor magistracies, the quaestorship is put on the same basis as the various offices of the so-called vigintivirate. Clearly one of these minor magistracies was to be held first, and then the aedileship, praetorship and consulship.

The fact that the plebeian tribunate is not mentioned at all among the regular magistracies is of course natural, since the

did Cicero mean by *optimates* and by *optimus quisque et gravissimus civis* (§ 39)? Such indefinite expressions could not be used in an actual law, certainly. Here Cicero's proposal is very far from being in legal form. Perhaps the privilege of examining ballots was to be confined to senators, but we cannot be certain.

<sup>21</sup> § 11: *Aut quid turbassitur in agendo, fraus actoris esto.* Cf. commentary, § 42.

<sup>22</sup> § 42: . . . *cuius impunitatem amittit hac lege.*

<sup>23</sup> § 8: *ollisque ad honoris amplioris gradum is primus ascensus esto.*

tribune was not a Roman magistrate. But it seems probable that Cicero, in his arrangement of the *cursus honorum*, was once again attempting a compromise; this time between the absence of the requirement of any definite minor office or offices as a preliminary to the praetorship, which made it possible for the tribune to advance directly to this office, and Sulla's law which closed the higher offices of the state to the tribune. If this interpretation is correct, Cicero, while leaving the path of advancement open to the tribune, was proposing to prohibit him from omitting the aedileship, thus lessening the importance of the tribunate as a means of political advancement.

The most striking innovations of the whole code are those which refer to the censorship. They amount to a complete revival and reconstitution of the office. No change is made in its rank, as it occupies in Cicero's treatment its normal position between the aedileship and the praetorship. But the office is to be occupied continuously instead of intermittently, and the term is therefore lengthened to five years.<sup>24</sup> Functions borrowed from Greece, but entirely strange to Rome, are assigned to the censors.<sup>25</sup> They are to be responsible for the correctness of the text of the laws, and also to receive reports from all magistrates after their retirement from office and to render a preliminary or tentative decision upon their official acts. But a favorable decision by the censors is not to free the ex-magistrate from the liability to prosecution. Another rather indefinite duty seems to be assigned to them as *νομοφύλακες*.<sup>26</sup> They are to "observe the acts of men and recall them to the laws." That is, the general task is assigned to them of watching for violations of the law and calling attention to them. We may conjecture that illegality in official acts was chiefly thought of in this provision.

<sup>24</sup> § 7: Magistratum quinquennium habento . . . ea potestas semper esto. Cf. § 47: . . . censoribus, quando quidem eos in republica semper volumus esse.

<sup>25</sup> § 11: Censores fidem legum custodiunt; privati ad eos acta referunt nec eo magis lege liberi sunt. Cf. commentary, §§ 46-47.

<sup>26</sup> § 46: nec ei solum litteras, nam id quidem etiam apud maiores nostros erat, sed etiam facta hominum observabant ad legesque revocabant. Haec cura detur censoribus, . . . Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, Dict., s. v. *Nomophylakes*; Pauly-Wiss., s. v. *Demetrius von Phaleron*, Sp. 2825 f.

Perhaps this new duty of the censors is on the whole no more shadowy and indefinite than the supervision over morals traditionally exercised by them. Its introduction into the Roman state was undoubtedly suggested to Cicero by his admiration for Demetrius of Phaleron.<sup>27</sup>

The most radical of these innovations in the censorship is the proposal to introduce into Rome the Greek *εὐθυνα* in modified form. Though the preliminary judgment of the censors did not preclude prosecution, it would have had very great influence, of course, and it seems probable that Cicero, in drafting this law, was thinking, as he so often was, of his own banishment. Was he not seeking to give additional protection to the magistrate who had clearly acted for the best interests of the state, but who, by a technical violation of the law, had laid himself open to malicious prosecution? This appears to be the most likely motive for such a radical proposal.

Perhaps this same idea will give us a clue to the meaning of one of Cicero's provisions in regard to the consuls: *ollis salus populi suprema lex esto*.<sup>28</sup> This has been understood as referring to the freedom of action given by the *senatus consultum ultimum*. But such an interpretation seems to be out of the question, on account of the lack of any reference to the Senate. If this had been Cicero's meaning, it seems certain that he would have expressed his law in such a manner that the phrase *si senatus creverit* could have been included in it. To interpret this provision as referring to the consul's military command<sup>29</sup> also seems forced. The only other possible interpretation—one which has been universally rejected as unthinkable—seems to be the literal one that Cicero actually intended to place the consuls above the law, thus making an exception to the first provision in his code.<sup>30</sup> I believe, however, that this interpretation is the only reasonable one, and that Cicero here intends to give the consul extraordinary powers in cases of emergency, without the necessity of action by the Senate. In spite of the radical nature

<sup>27</sup> § 14.

<sup>28</sup> § 8.

<sup>29</sup> As is done by Du Mesnil in his edition of *De Legibus*, Leipzig 1879, p. 207.

<sup>30</sup> § 6: *Iusta imperia sunt*. Cf. Du Mesnil's note, op. cit. p. 195.

of such a concession, it probably seemed to Cicero that in actual practice there would be little danger in it. After retiring from office the consul would be subject to judgment by the censors, and then would be liable to prosecution for any illegal acts committed. In order to claim the protection of this *suprema lex*, it would be necessary for him to prove that "the safety of the people" had been in actual danger, and that his transgression of the ordinary laws of the state had been necessary for its preservation.

If this was Cicero's intention, he must, of course, have been thinking once more of his own banishment, and providing another safeguard for the protection of a consul who saved the state by acts which were technically illegal.<sup>31</sup> But there was a theoretical reason as well as a practical one for the granting of this power to the consul. Cicero must have seen that the consulship was the weakest point in the identification of the theoretical "balanced constitution" of the Greeks with the actual constitution of Rome. The "royal element" was conspicuously lacking in strength in these theoretical laws in comparison with the aristocratic and democratic, particularly after the establishment of the power of the Senate on a firm legal basis. The consulship must therefore be strengthened. For this purpose the *senatus consultum ultimum* is dropped entirely, and the extraordinary powers which it was thought of as conferring are granted outright to the consul, to be used in his discretion whenever needed, but with the knowledge that he would be held strictly responsible for their use.<sup>32</sup>

The law prohibiting *legationes liberae*<sup>33</sup> is also a new provision. Cicero had proposed the abolition of this form of senatorial graft during his consulship, but had succeeded only in reducing the length of such appointments, formerly unlimited, to one year.

The last of our list of innovations is Cicero's general rule in regard to punishments.<sup>34</sup> The principle that the punishment

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Cauer, Ciceros politisches Denken, pp. 114 f.

<sup>32</sup> The use of the phrase *nemini pareto* (§ 8) may be considered as an additional indication of Cicero's intention to strengthen the power of the consulship.

<sup>33</sup> § 9; cf. commentary, § 18.

<sup>34</sup> § 11: Quod quis earum rerum migrasset, noxiae poena par esto; cf. commentary, § 46.



should fit the crime was in more or less general agreement with the practice in Rome as well as elsewhere. But the formulation of a constitutional provision to the effect that the kind of punishment was always to correspond in this way to the nature of the crime seems to be original.

The elements which are revivals of old laws repealed before Cicero's time are few. The only provisions which can be so classified with any degree of certainty are that which allows the punishment of citizens by flogging,<sup>35</sup> and that which limits the right of appeal to the city of Rome.<sup>36</sup> Both these provisions are intended to restore some of the lost power of the higher magistrates, and can perhaps be explained in the same way as the additions to the consul's power—that is, as attempts to strengthen the royal element in the state. The provision in regard to the dictatorship cannot, of course, be classed as a revival of an institution which had been abolished, as this office was still recognized as a part of the existing Roman constitution.

The element of the constitution which would perhaps seem strangest to the modern legal mind is the occasional introduction of provisions of a moral rather than a legal nature—provisions which could not be made into enforceable laws. Such are some of the stipulations as to the conduct of military commanders and provincial governors,<sup>37</sup> the exhortation to the Senate to set a good example to the rest of the citizens,<sup>38</sup> the recommendation of moderation to legislative bodies,<sup>39</sup> the statement of the political duty of a senator,<sup>40</sup> and the praise given to the official who uses the power of intercession in a helpful way.<sup>41</sup> Such rules, for which there could be no sanction, would not seem so out of place in an ancient code as in a modern one. And Cicero's love for the old spirit of republican patriotism,

<sup>35</sup> § 6: multa vinculis verberibus coerceto. Cf. Mommsen, *Roem. Strafrecht*, p. 47.

<sup>36</sup> § 6: Militiae ab eo qui imperabit provocatio nec esto. Cf. Strachan-Davidson, *Problems of the Roman Criminal Law*, Oxford 1912, Vol. I, pp. 115-126.

<sup>37</sup> § 9: Populi sui gloriam argento; domum cum laude redeunto.

<sup>38</sup> § 10: ceteris specimen esto.

<sup>39</sup> § 10: quae cum populo quaeque in patribus agentur modica sunt.

<sup>40</sup> § 11: Loco senator et modo orato; causas populi teneto.

<sup>41</sup> § 11: Intercessor rei malae salutaris civis esto.

and his desire for its restoration, must have suggested these exhortations to political righteousness. Each one of them is a rebuke to one of the political evils or abuses of the time, which was out of reach of the law. But, futile as such rebukes were, Cicero was unable to devise a practical remedy.

It seems strange that comparatively so little attention has been paid to the *De Legibus* by modern authors who have discussed Cicero's political theories and ideals. Is this not preëminently the place to look for Cicero's best thought-out conclusions as to the reforms needed by the Roman state, and the constitution best suited to it? Here he is concrete and detailed; in other works, including the *De Republica*, he is abstract and indefinite. In his letters to Atticus he is extremely frank, to be sure, but the political opinions found there are often the hasty thoughts of the moment, largely influenced by personal considerations.

Let us see, then, what kind of a constitution it is, on the whole, which Cicero presents as his ideal. Are we to conclude, with Cauer, that in spite of its pretence to perfect balance it is predominantly aristocratic, with only a few sops thrown to the multitude in the shape of worthless "democratic concessions"? <sup>42</sup>

As we have just seen, the constitution bears on its face the appearance of being a compromise between the extreme aristocracy, best represented by the reactionary constitution of Sulla, and the extreme proposals of the *populares*. Is this appearance a false one? The power of the Senate is definitely established, but not greatly increased. Additions are made to the duties and influence of the censorship, to the discretionary power of the consuls in times of emergency, and to the judicial powers of the higher magistrates. On the other hand, no attempt is made to limit the supreme power of the People in their assemblies; the Senate is given none of its old control over popular legislation. The rights of the plebeian tribunes are not limited, and the path of political advancement remains open to them. A compromise method of voting in the assemblies is recommended, which gives freedom of action to the people, but leaves the way as open as possible for the exertion of aristocratic influence over them.

<sup>42</sup> Cauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 f. and 88 f.

The provision last mentioned, it seems to me, gives the keynote of the whole system, and of Cicero's idea of a balanced constitution. Absolute power is given to the People, but as many opportunities as possible are provided for the play of senatorial influence upon this all-powerful democracy. This influence is to be strengthened even by the use of deceit, when necessary.<sup>43</sup> Obviously we must give full assent to Cauer's conclusion that Cicero believed all the political wisdom of Rome to be the exclusive property of one class, the senatorial, which supplied the aristocratic and royal elements in his ideal state. But I think this fact has led Cauer to underestimate the genuinely democratic elements in Cicero's constitution. If he thinks of the common people as entirely lacking in political wisdom, why has he given them the supreme power in the state? Simply because he recognizes the great fact that, in any form of state, they actually possess the supreme power. This fact he had doubtless learned from practical experience as well as from the treatises of the Greek theorists, who realize it fully, and recognize that a government whose laws do not grant the supreme power to those who actually hold it cannot hope to be a stable one. This point of view, in my opinion, gives a complete explanation of Cicero's constitution as we have it. Only the aristocracy<sup>44</sup> can govern the state wisely, but it cannot govern the state at all, except with the full approval of the People. This approval is in general to be gained by persuasion; but when this is found impossible, by trickery based on popular superstition. But no attempt is to be made to *force* the will of the governing class upon the People. Cicero, of course, like the rest of the *optimates*, thinks of the People's combination of political power with entire lack of political wisdom as an evil, but he differs basically from the extreme conservatives in his realization that the maintenance of this power is absolutely necessary.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup>II, §§ 30-31.

<sup>44</sup>Naturally Cicero, remembering his own origin, could not have thought of this aristocracy as a close corporation, which did not admit new blood. But just as a definite order was to be observed in holding the state offices, so membership in the governing class must be attained gradually, by passing through the preliminary stage of membership in the equestrian order, consisting of those citizens who had an especially large "stake in the country." Cf. Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 3. Aufl., p. 149.

<sup>45</sup>A somewhat similar distrust of real "popular government" was

Of course the readers of Cicero's treatise would be members of the governing class. Therefore he lays the greatest emphasis in his commentary on the defence of the democratic elements in his constitution, not on that of the most original elements. The space which he gives to upholding the retention of the tribunate with full powers <sup>46</sup> against the conservative arguments of Quintus and Atticus, and to the defense of his compromise form of ballot <sup>47</sup> is out of all proportion to the short passage devoted, for example, to his radical additions to the duties of the censorship. <sup>48</sup> In fact, for the benefit of this conservative reading public he takes pains to minimize the amount of new material in his constitution—almost to deny its existence. <sup>49</sup>

Thus we must conclude that the idea of a balanced constitution was more than an attractive theory of political philosophy to Cicero; he took it seriously as an ideal of practical politics, as Zielinski maintains. This was certainly the case at the time when the constitution in *De Legibus* was written, which of course does not prove that Zielinski has not overemphasized his consistent adherence to it throughout his career.

We have not yet touched upon one element in Cicero's ideas which has been emphasized by both Zielinski <sup>50</sup> and Cauer. <sup>51</sup> This is Cicero's idealization of the period of the Scipios, including the Roman government as constituted at that time. From our examination of the changes in the constitution which Cicero

shown by the makers of the Constitution of the United States, particularly in their careful avoidance of provisions for the choice of the President and Senate by direct popular election.

<sup>46</sup> §§ 17; 19-26.

<sup>47</sup> §§ 33-39.

<sup>48</sup> §§ 46-47. A comprehension of Cicero's point of view in this respect may go far to explain the "unevenness of treatment" which has been so often mentioned as a characteristic of the commentary on the "laws." (For example, see A. Reifferscheid, in *Rh. Mus.* 17 (1862), p. 269.)

<sup>49</sup> II, § 23: *Si quae forte a me hodie rogabuntur, quae non sint in nostra re publica nec fuerint, tamen erunt fere in more maiorum, qui tum ut lex valebat.* III, § 12: *Nihil habui sane non multum quod putarem novandum in legibus.* But compare III, § 37: *Quoniam non recognoscimus nunc leges populi Romani sed aut repetimus ereptas aut novas scribimus . . .*

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 163-188.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 33 f.

actually recommends in his "laws," it is obvious without further comment that he has attempted to bring the Roman constitution into perfect conformity with his ideal balanced form of government, not by a return to the actual laws of Scipio's time, but by means of new laws which are either compromises or entirely original. Reverence for the earlier Roman constitution is much more prominent in the generalizations of the *De Republica* than in the definite constitution contained in the *De Legibus*. The conservative statements of the former work, and Cicero's claims to conservatism in the *De Legibus*, have evidently had the effect of concealing from modern critics, to a great extent, the innovations which actually appear in that treatise.

The political spirit of the age of the Scipios seems to have awakened Cicero's fullest admiration. He conceived of it as a time when the people gave their willing assent to the efficient government of a wise and patriotic aristocracy. And he accepted fully the Greek theory that the constitution of the older Roman republic had come closer than any other to an ideal balance of powers. But his loyalty and admiration did not extend to the detailed provisions of the constitution of the period he admired, and therefore his proposed reforms are to be brought about by new methods rather than by an attempt to restore those provisions.

Cicero not only compares the spirit of his own times unfavorably with his idealized conception of the spirit of the older Republic; he even goes so far as to recognize frankly that his ideal constitution would have no chance for practical success in his own day. Therefore we have considered Cicero's political ideals entirely apart from the political conditions under which he lived. Indeed there is little actual relation between the two. For those conditions he obviously had little real understanding, and therefore he could provide no cure for the ills of a dying Republic. But certainly, in the constitution which he composed for a Roman Republic of the ideal future, he has shown far more originality than has ever been recognized.

CLINTON WALKER KEYES.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

### III.—THE CARMEN SAECULARE OF HORACE.

When the *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace was rendered on the Palatine hill before Apollo's temple it was of course sung to a rhythmic dance, since the invitations issued for the occasion mention not only the singing but the "*choros habendos*."<sup>1</sup> How the strophes were divided between the youths, maidens, and the ensemble has not been discovered despite many attempts at divination.<sup>2</sup> However, many editors have agreed that the ninth stanza was divided between the youths and maidens and sung antiphonally. That at least seems to be implied in the text:

Condito mitis placidusque telo  
Supplices audi *pueros Apollo*;  
Siderum regina bicornis audi  
*Luna puellas.*

The assumption of responsion in this stanza is based upon the supposition that the semichoruses would, so far as possible, have appropriate texts. That is quite reasonable, for this was a religious song, and the Romans were meticulous in their acts of worship: Apollo did not accept the same victims at the altar as Diana, nor was it customary for women to bring the same offerings as men. Unfortunately, this principle when applied to the song does not carry us far enough, though it at once suggests that the first two and the last stanza would be sung by the full chorus, that the third belongs to the youths, the fourth to the maidens, the seventeenth to the youths and the eighteenth to the maidens.

The ninth stanza, however, has another peculiarity. In the third line, the trochaic caesura unexpectedly appears, and this fact may provide an objective criterion capable of helping us

<sup>1</sup> CIL VI. 32323, l. 21.

<sup>2</sup> As Shorey has said: "The distribution of the strophes between the youths, the maidens, and the ensemble has been endlessly debated," Shorey-Laing, p. 471. See Christ, Sitz. Bayer. Acad. 1893 (six triads); Mommsen, *Reden und Aufsätze*, p. 358 (a processional); Vahlen, Sitz. Berl. Akad. 1892, p. 1005 (objections to Mommsen's view); Dennison, Univ. Mich. Studies, 1904, p. 49. For references to many others, see Schanz.

further. It is well known that Horace avoided the trochaic caesura almost entirely in the Sapphics of the first three books of odes. The *Carmen Saeculare* is the first Sapphic ode in which he uses it freely. Here it suddenly occurs nineteen times. We know of course very little about the theory of the caesura. It has even been held that rhetoricians did not become conscious of or study its effects until after the Augustan age. But a verse like Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 263:

Non quivis videt immodulata poemata iudex,

in which Horace illustrates ignorance of modulation by omitting the regular caesura, is proof enough that the poet has some rule in mind.

The avoidance of the trochaic caesura in the first three books, while it is freely used in the *Carmen Saeculare* and subsequent Sapphics, is not satisfactorily explained by Christ's additive theory<sup>3</sup> of verse. It is not at all unlikely that the theory which we first find in Hermogenes, *de Ideis* II, 394 R., a theory that advocates variation in tone and color by manipulation of the pauses, was known and practiced before the days of Vergil and Horace. Certain it is that Vergil in his hexameters uses the trochaic deliberately for smooth, flowing, and soft effects when the text demands them. One need not search far in the *Aeneid* for lines like:

Luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.  
Per connubia nostra per inceptos hymenaeos.  
Spargens humida mella soporiferumque papaver.

Of course the Romans never spoke of caesuras as "masculine" and "feminine"—terms invented by Hermann; but if a poet were attempting to employ the caesuras in such a way as to give a different effect to the stanzas composed for the female voices he would of course give to them the softer trochaic caesura rather than the emphatic stop after the accent. This is what Horace seems to have done in the *Carmen Saeculare*.

Even with this criterion, we cannot expect definitive results, since there are ensemble parts which must have one or the

<sup>3</sup> Christ, Sitz. Bayer. Akad., 1868; Heinze, Sitz. Leip. Akad. 1918, seems to have put an end to the additive theory as far as concerns Horace.

other of these two caesuras. But the following rule makes for a reasonable division: stanzas sung by youths alone have the "masculine" caesura, stanzas sung by maidens alone have one or more trochaic caesuras in each stanza, ensemble stanzas also contain trochaic caesuras.

Beginning our inquiry at stanza nine, which affords the best clue, we find that the three central stanzas (9, 10, 11) shift from masculine to feminine caesura on the third line. The three are apparently sung antiphonally by the two semi-choruses—

Youths:   Condito mitis || placidusque telo  
              Supplices audi || *pueros, Apollo;*

Maidens:   Siderum regina || bicornis audi,  
              *Luna, puellas.*

Youths:    Roma si vestrumst || opus Iliaequē  
              Litus Etruscum || tenere turmae,

Maidens:   Jussa pars mutare || Lares et urbem  
              Sospite cursu,

Youths:    Cui per ardentem || sine fraude Trojam  
              Castus Aeneas || patriae superstes

Maidens:   Liberum munivit || iter daturus  
              Plura relictis.

This mesodos of three stanzas is probably the only part of the poem in which stanzas are divided in the middle. The three stanzas clearly belong together referring throughout to Apollo and Diana, for as Vahlen has shown (*op. cit.*, p. 1020) the sixth ode of the fourth book also attributes the salvation of the Aeneadae to Apollo and Diana. We thus learn that these two deities hold the position of honor in the central passage which is thus emphasized by the most elaborate and effective rendering. The twelfth and thirteenth stanzas are addressed to the unnamed Capitoline triad, as appears from the mention of the "*bobus albis*." The twelfth (which has no trochaic caesura) is assigned to the youths, the thirteenth (with its one trochee) to the maidens.

The next three stanzas make up a kind of triumphal hymn which seems to suit the full chorus; the trochaic pause occurs



freely in this group.<sup>4</sup> Finally the masculine lines of the seventeenth (addressed to Apollo) are given to the youths, those of the eighteenth stanza (addressed to Diana) with one weak pause, are assigned to the maidens, while the nineteenth stanza, the epode, falls to the full chorus. The division of this part is therefore: mesode, 1, 1, 3, 1, 1, epode.

The first part of the ode opens with a proodos of two stanzas in full chorus. The first stanza has a trochaic caesura, the second has none, the only stanza thus deficient of those assignable to the full chorus. The third (addressed to Sol-Apollo) was sung by the youths, the next two (addressed to Ilithyia-Lucina, several trochees) is assigned to the maidens, while the next three—all masculine lines—go to the youths who pray for prosperity during the next saeculum. The stanzas of the first half fall into the following order: proode, 1, 2, 3, mesode.

According to this hypothesis the whole poem arranges itself by stanzas as follows:

1	choral	
2	proodos	Youths and maidens sing to Apollo and Diana.
<hr/>		
3	youths	Prayer to Sol-Apollo.
4-5	maidens	Prayer to Ilithyia-Diana.
6-7-8	youths	Prosper Rome through the next saeculum!
<hr/>		
9-10-11	antiphonal mesodos	Apollo and Diana are recognized as the founders of Rome.
<hr/>		
12	youths	May Jupiter and Juno prosper
13	maidens	citizens and ruler.
14-15-16	full chorus	Song of joy: the age of peace returns.
17	youths	Prayer to Apollo.
18	maidens	Prayer to Diana.
<hr/>		
19	full chorus	epodos: the gods have heard our prayers.

It will be seen that a division of the hymn according to caesuras secures a reasonable amount of symmetry, not only separating it into two equal parts by an antiphonal mesodos but also arranging the two parts into systems. The first half

<sup>4</sup>The hymn continues through two stanzas, while in the third the chorus wheels before the temple of Apollo again.

seems to use a progressive idea, while the second sets a frame for the song of triumph. This division also secures appropriate texts for the two choruses. The proode, epode, and song of triumph fall to the full chorus, the mesode to a more intricate responsion, the direct addresses to Apollo fall to the youths, while those to Diana are sung by the maidens. It must have been very difficult to secure such a coincidence of caesura, symmetry, and appropriateness of theme, so difficult in fact that conscious effort alone would seem to me responsible for it. There are only two instances where coincidence between the three principles is in any way lacking, namely in the second stanza, where no trochaic caesura is found in a choral song, and in the sixteenth, where the full chorus turns to address Apollo alone.

This division, if adopted, will have some bearing upon the interpretation of various lines. It will for example refer the tenth and eleventh stanzas to Apollo and Diana rather than to the "Di" of the following lines, as Kiessling-Heinze's edition would do. This change in turn alters the whole conception of the ode. Instead of giving the position of honor in the second half to Jupiter and Juno as Kiessling held, it interprets the whole central antiphonal as sung in praise of Apollo and Diana, thus reducing the Capitoline deities (who are not even named) to the two obscure stanzas that follow. This is in fact what Horace himself has quite clearly said when at the end he calls the chorus:

Doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae  
Dicere laudes,

and again in *Carmen* IV, 6, when he attributes the salvation of the Trojans to these gods,<sup>8</sup> and in ll. 37-38 of that ode speaks of his chorus:

Rite Latonae puerum canentes  
Rite crescentem face Noctilucam.

This arrangement proves of course that the song was in every respect a hymn in honor of Apollo and Diana, and, despite Kiessling's notes, it shows that Apollo is intentionally

<sup>8</sup> Vahlen, *op. cit.*, and Slaughter, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 1895, pp. 77 ff., have rightly insisted that the *Carmen Saeculare* gave markedly little attention to the Capitoline triad.

identified with Sol in line 9, and that Ilithyia is intended to be connected with Diana Lucina. In view of these facts I would propose the following changes in the punctuation of Kiessling-Heinze's edition: a full stop should be placed after the eighth line, a semicolon after the twentieth, a colon after the thirty-sixth and a full stop after the forty-fourth and the fifty-second lines.

Moreover, if the peculiar meter of the Carmen is found to be the result of an attempt to harmonize form and spirit in certain stanzas, we may have the long-sought clue to Horace's reasons for experimenting with a new rhythm at the close of his career. The odes of the fourth book which have this rhythm are all apparently later: the sixth was written while the chorus was practicing the performance of the Carmen, the second belongs to the year 16 B. C., and the eleventh is generally considered one of the last lyrics (see the final lines). Horace's adoption of the trochaic caesura has usually been attributed to a manipulation of the additive theory of verse which we find in Caesius Bassus. But the whole theory is now under severe criticism. The nature of the Carmen Saeculare should at least be considered as a possible factor in the treatment of Horace's meters.

TENNEY FRANK.

#### IV.—FLUCTUATION BETWEEN *o*- AND *ā*-STEMS IN LITHUANIAN.

A striking feature of Lithuanian declension, which is not recognized in the grammars, is the frequent appearance of the same noun in two or more stem forms. An extreme example is a word for 'lunar halo or corona' which appears (Nesselmann Dict. 156) in five stem forms: *drigna -os*, *drignė -ės*, *drignas -o*, *drignis -io*, *drignus -aus*. But there are well above 500 Lithuanian nouns with at least two different stem forms. More than half of these fluctuations are those between *o*- and *jo*-stems on the one hand and *ā*- and *jā*-stems on the other hand. Three fourths of this half are fluctuations between pure *o*-(Lith. *a*-) stems and pure *ā*-stems; this is by far the most common variation and may fairly be taken as representative of the others.

In the treatment of individual pairs of this type one author or another has assumed the one form as normal and the other as archaic or dialectic, depending upon the author's standpoint. Thus Kurschat (LDWb.) accompanies the (to him) familiar *tarbas* 'lederne Tasche, Bettelsack' with a *tarbā* which he places within brackets and designates as Polish-Lithuanian. Thus Leskien (Bildung der Nomina 179) cites an "*atsodas* . . . , wo jetzt fem. *atsoda*." Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely. Is the fluctuation between *o*- and *ā*-stems then a matter of dialect or of period? In individual words it may, of course, be either or both, but in general it is characteristic of the entire language; it has operated from the earliest times of which we have record; it is still operating; and there is no general tendency away from one stem to the other. Noun pairs of this sort are found in the same dictionary, in the same dialect (e. g. Godlewa *lazarėtā*: *lasaretas* 'Lazaret' in Leskien-Brugmann, Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen, pp. 207, 268), in the same author (e. g., in Schleicher's Donaleitis, *porā*: *pōras* 'Paar,' *smakrā*: *smākras* 'Kinn'), and even in the same poem (e. g. *manėra*: *manėras* 'Manier' in Rūdenio gerjybės, ll. 490, 789).

Bezzenberger (Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache auf Grund litauischer Texte des XVI. und des XVII. Jahr-

hunderts, pp. 94 ff.) lists and classifies a large number of these fluctuations of all kinds (interchanges of *o-* and *a-*stems are found on pages 96 and 97 as well as on 94 and 95), but the examples on those pages are all taken from Nesselmann. The latter only rarely indicates his sources, which are varied and for the most part written or printed. Nesselmann consequently offers little or no evidence as to period or dialect.

The dictionaries of Kurschat (Lithuanian-German) and Lalis (Lithuanian-English), on the other hand, are to a large extent products of personal experience with the language; the former is essentially Prussian-Lithuanian, the latter is based primarily on the speech of Kovno in the heart of Russian Lithuania; the latter was written a generation later than the former and is distinctly more modern. A comparison of the *o-* and *a-*stems in the two dictionaries should therefore offer evidence as to whether the fluctuation between the two stem types is a matter of dialect or period.

The lists that follow include only nouns that are of one stem in one dictionary and of the other stem in the other dictionary. They are further restricted to words which do not appear in the above-mentioned lists of Bezzenberger; thus my lists will serve as addenda to his. Unless otherwise indicated the word or words before the colon are from Kurschat; those after it are from Lalis.

1. *a-*stems in Kurschat, *o-*stems in Lalis:

*abejā* : *abejas*; *adamoszka* : *adamoszkas*; *apsiuvd*, *apsiuvas* : *apsiuvas*; *atlaidā* : *atlaidas*, *atlaida*; *brika*, *brikas* : *brikas*; *burtā* 'Zauberei' : *burtai*; *gyvatā* : *gyvatas*; *grivinā* : *grivinas*; *gvintā* : *gvintas*; *kāntā* : *kantas*; *kasztā* : *kasztas*; *kaurā* : *kauras*; *kerplėszā* : *kerplėszas*; *kraikā* : *kraikai*; *krijā* : *krijas*; *kriuszā*, *kruszā* 'Hagel' : *kriuszai*, *kriusza*, *krusza*; *ostā*, *ostas* 'Mündung eines Flusses' : *ūstas* 'haven, harbor, port'; *pamatā* : *pamatas*; *parėdkā* 'Form, Modell' : *parėdkas* 'order, regulation'; *pažadā* : *pažadai*; *perlā* : *perlas*; *prėžada* : *prėžadas*; *pryzada* : *pryzadas*; *rauka*, *raūkas* : *raukas*; *rėma*, *rėmas* : *rėmai*; *rėszā* : *rėszas*; *rūczkā* : *ruczakas*; *salýkla*, *selýkla* : *salýklas*, *sėlyklas*; *sėlvartā* : *sėlvartas*; *serbentā* : *serbentas*; *skrijos* : *skrijas*; *skundā* : *skundas*; *smakrā* : *smakras*; *svirna* :

*svirnas*; *szinkà* : *szinkas*; *trópta* : *troptas*; *údra* : *udras*, *udra*; *úsztësa* : *úztësas*; *valaka* : *valakas*; *vëkà* : *vëkas*; *žëgdros* : *žëgdždras*.

2. *o*-stems in Kurschat, *ā*-stems in Lalis:

*apgélai* : *apgēlos*; *apýgardas* : *apygarda*; *āpmaudas* : *apmauda*, *apmaudas*; *atmatas* : *atmata*; *brindas* : *brinda*; *brōgas* : *broga*; *dūbai*, *dūbos* : *dubos*; *iszdagas* : *iszdaga*; *iszvaizdas* 'Bild, Ebenbild' : *iszvaizda* 'appearance, look, aspect'; *itaikas* 'was jemand zu Gefallen geschieht' : *itaika* 'pleasedness'; *itakas* : *itaka*; *kalavijas* : *kalavija*; *kóksztas*, *kuksztas* : *kukszta*, *kúkszta*; *kvitas* : *kvita*; (?) Nesselmann *latākas* 'Wasserröhre, Wasserleitung,' Kurschat *latākas* 'zusammengelauenes Wasser': Lalis *lataka* 'funnel, spile'; *lazas* : *laža*; *lýras* : *lyra*; *liuřbas* : *liurba*; *lupinai*, *lupinos* : *lupyna*; *lūmas* : *lūma*, *lūmas*; *medegas* 'Holz, Gehölz im Walde' : *medega* 'material, matter, substance' (cf. Leskien Nomina 525); *mėvas* : *mėva*; *mōrkas* : *morka*; *nařsas* 'mächtiger, gewaltiger Zorn' (Nesselmann also 'Eifer, Ernst') : *narsa* 'prowess' (cf. Leskien Nomina 595); *nėgandas*, *nėganda* : *neganda*; *notūras* : *notura*; *nūmas*, *nūmà* : *nūma*; *nūmaras* : *nūmara*; *nūtakas* 'Abhang' : *nūtaka*; *nūvalai*, *nūvalos* : *nūvalos*; *pākraikas*, *pakráikos* : *pakraikos*; *párvas* : *parva*; *prāszmatas* : *praszmata*; *prėsas* : *prėsa*; *sagas*, *sagà* : *saga*; *saladynai*, *saladynos* : *saladynos*; *skrāndas* : *skranda*; *slyvas* "bei Tilsit," *slyvà* "in Südlitt." : *slyva*; *slogas* 'weight' : *sloga*; *spirgas* : *spirga*; *starostas*, *stórástas* : *starosta*, *storasta*; *stirtas*, *stirta* : *stirta*; *szėpas*, *szėpa* : *szėpa*; *tāksas* : *taksa*; *užlas* 'der Estrich über dem Kamin,' *užlai* 'die kleinen Balken in der Scheune,' *užlos* 'was in der Klete (Vorratshäuschen) auf dem Boden ist' : *užlos* 'loft, story, floor'; *vanuszakai* 'Königskerze, Verbascum thapsus' : *vanuszaka* 'foxglove, Digitalis purpurea' (both plants belong to the family of the Scrophulariaceae); *velkėtas* (cf. Kurschat LDWb. s. v. *žirglės*, DLWb. s. v. *Schleife*) : *velketa* (cf. Lalis ELDict. s. v. *drag*); *voveruszkai* : *voveruszka*.

The above lists show no marked tendency in the direction either of *o*- or of *ā*-stems; if the lists had not been restricted to examples not cited by Bezzenberger, the proportion between 1 and 2 would still be almost exactly as above. We may then conclude that the fluctuation between the two stem forms is not

a matter of period or dialect. That such fluctuations appeared in the oldest texts has been amply shown by Bezzenberger (pp. 98 ff.). However, he apparently ignores (p. 102) the fact that the interchange between *o-* and *a-*stems had its beginning in Indo-European (cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II, 1, 148 ff.). But the majority of such pairs of nouns cannot be traced as such beyond the Lithuanian, and Bezzenberger's explanation is by no means without justification and application: that with the almost complete loss of the neuter in Lithuanian the distinctions of grammatical gender were weakened, and the noun stems that had been neuter became in part masculine, in part feminine, and in part masculine and feminine at the same time. Furthermore, the declensional boundary between *o-* and *a-*stems was blurred by the fact that a number of inflectional case forms were essentially identical in the two declensions (cf. the acc., dat., gen., loc. in the sing. and the acc., dat., loc. in the plu.).

That these fluctuations are still common in the language, especially in connection with new words, is a matter of observation. Thus I have noticed in Lithuanian-American newspapers *pacata* for Lalis's *pacetas* 'post, post-office, mail'; and the word for 'industrial strike' appears almost indifferently as *streikas* and *streika*.

#### Substantival *-ėna*

To the feminine nouns in *-ėna* listed by Leskien (*Bildung der Nomina*, pp. 413, 414) may be added, from Lalis, the following:

1. Flesh, meat. *ėrėna* 'lamb's meat, lamb' : *ėras* 'lamb'; *girėna* 'game, venison, deer' (a late analogical formation; cf. Kurschat *girėnas* 'Waldbewohner') : *girė*, *giria* 'forest'; *koszelėna* 'gelatin, jelly, hog's-headcheese' (new form in *-ėna* by analogy with the words for 'meat'; cf. *koszelėnė* 'Sulze,' Kurschat s. v., Leskien *Nomina* 414) : to some derivative of *kószti* 'to strain, filter'; *lapėna* 'fox meat' : *lāpė* 'fox'; *merlėna* 'carcass, carrion' : *merlėna* (Kurschat); *pauksztėna* 'game' : *pauksztis* 'bird'; *stirnėna* 'venison' : *stirna* 'roe, deer'; *svėžėna* 'fresh meat' (a new formation) : *svėžias* 'fresh'; *zuikėna* 'hare meat' : *zuikis* 'hare.'

2. Field. *bulvėna* 'potato field' : *bulvė* (Lalis), *bulvis* (Kurschat) 'potato'; *vasarojėna* 'field from which the spring corn is removed; stubble field' : (Lalis) *vasarojus* 'spring corn,'

(Kurschat) *vasarójis*, *vasarójus* 'das Feld, auf welchem bei der Dreifelderwirtschaft das Sommergetreide wächst.'

3. No category. (?) *purēna* 'yellow water poppy.'

-*ena* in words for 'pelt'

-*ena* seems to have developed a slight degree of productivity in feminine noun stems denoting 'pelt,' but its productivity is restricted by its limited semantic scope. The suffix hangs closely together with the preceding -*ēna* but, at least in Lalis, is not identical with it. Notice *ozena* 'Bocksfell,' *szunēna* 'Hundefell,' *vilkēna* 'Wolfschur' (Leskien Nomina 413, but Kurschat *vilkenā* 'Wolfspelz').

The following are from Lalis. *lapenos* 'fox fur' (cf. *lapēna* 'fox meat') : *lāpē* 'fox'; *meszkenos* 'bearskin coat, bear's fur' (cf. *meszkēna* 'Bärenfleisch') : *meszkā* 'bear'; *ożkena* 'goat-skin, goat fur' (cf. *ożkēna* 'goat's meat, kid meat') : *ożka* (*oszkā*) 'goat'; *vilkēna* 'wolf's skin, fur of wolves' (cf. *vilkēna* 'Wolfsfleisch') : *vīlka* 'wolf.' From this list is to be excluded *szarmenos* 'robe of ermine, ermine' : *szarmū* (*szarmen-*) 'ermine.'

HAROLD H. BENDER.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.



## V.—DESULTORY REMARKS ON LATIN PRONUNCIATION.

Have mere desultory remarks any claim to publication? Perhaps these may help some teacher whose only idea of advanced study is the pleasant sport of conjectural emendation and who therefore finds himself at a loss when a student demands of him a useful subject for research.

They are suggested by three books: Bridges' *Ibant Obscure*, Clark's *Cursus in Vulgar Latin*, Hardie's *Res Metrica*. The Poet Laureate has made us all see, as we never saw before, the task of the Roman pioneers in quantitative metre. Livius knew instinctively the quantity of a Greek, the stress-accent of a Latin syllable. To write quantitative Greek and accentual Latin verse was easy for him. But quantitative Latin verse! There was the rub. If Roman literature had so thoroughly been captured as Horace avers by captured Greece, Greek rules of prosody would have been rigorously imposed, there and then, on Latin verse. But the earliest Roman poets were too independent to tolerate that. Hardie's brilliant chapter on the History of Metre at Rome shews us how long it was before Latin verse came to shew 'very little that the strictest Hellenist could call licence or irregularity.' And Clark's discovery that the clausula-rhythm in informal prose—Cicero's letters to Atticus, Petronius' novel—followed accent, not quantity, makes us think of a pronunciation like *dabūnt, volūptatem, vidēs, nesciō*, and possibly of any and every unaccented syllable 'long by position,' as an utterance that required some conscious effort from an educated Roman. It was not wholly natural and instinctive to him, but something resembling, perhaps remotely, the artificial pronunciation in English verse of the noun 'wind' so as to rhyme with 'kind.' If Clark is right in saying that Cicero used a quantitative clausula in one letter, an accentual in another, one of Hardie's arguments against the accentual theory of Saturnians is weakened. Hardie finds it difficult to believe that *dabunt malum* (followed by a consonant) could be treated by the same poet as *dābunt mālum* (in Saturnian verse) and as *dābunt mālūm* (in verse of the Greek pattern). 'Could the same material be treated so differently by the same poet at the same time?' But,

I confess, I should like to see this 'accentual clausula' of Cicero more fully treated. If the Oxford professor has not time to spare, will he find a lieutenant? For one cannot help feeling that the nature of the Latin accent, its restriction to the penult or the antepenultimate syllable, would give great opportunity to an appearance, a deceptive appearance, of a *cursus*. Sudhaus convinced himself that Plautus' *cantica* were dance-metres two steps forward and two steps backward—, because he could find in very many lines (and alas! tried to find in all) multiples of four *metra*. But he forgot<sup>1</sup> that the song-metres which literary tradition had transmitted to Plautus were usually tetrameters or dimeters, hardly ever trimeters. He never asked himself the question: What chance was there of non-observance of this supposed rule?

At any rate the introduction of the Greek type of metre was an innovation. Even Hardie, who finds in Saturnians quantitative metre, cannot find there the same kind of quantitative metre as the Greek. And his remark (apparently so obvious, yet never, I think, so convincingly put) that the Latin stress-accent gave an iambic rhythm which satisfied the Roman ear (not the Greek) to a line like:

labórans, quaérens, párcens, fíli sérvíens,

adds force to the statement (challenged by the Latin scholars of France) that Plautus and Terence paid some regard to accent as well as to quantity. 'The Latin accent,' says Hardie (p. 88) 'was not a strong enough stress to enable a short syllable to take the place of a long, but when two or three longs came together it differentiated them.' My 'Early Latin Verse' will, I hope, convince everyone that the admission of spondees to the second and fourth feet of the Senarius was, for a Roman, an improvement of the Greek form. It brought the verse of dialogue nearer the tone of talk without sacrificing anything essential. Also that the Law of Breves Breviantes is an imposing (and repellent) name for the characteristic slurred pronunciation of

<sup>1</sup> We have all said such hard things about Sudhaus' perverse defence of an impossible text (in his *Aetna*) and his Procrustean scansion of Plautus that I felt remorse when I learned lately from an obituary notice the difficulties of his life that drove him to over-hasty publication. And yet, it was not the man we censured, but his method.

everyday life at Rome. Our slurring takes the form of syncope: 'what's this?' 'I'd know'; the Roman shortened an unaccented syllable after a short syllable: *quid est hoc?* or *quid hōc est?*, *volō scire*. In Latin comedy (presumably even of the Augustan age) these colloquial pronunciations were naturally most in evidence, though some of them had so thoroughly driven the literary pronunciation off the field that they got Virgil's sanction: *vidēn ut geminae stent vertice cristae*. (No syllable should by rule be longer than *dēs + n*.) It is not true to say that Ennius admitted to his epic no shortening but of a final vowel. We find *enim r-* in one extant line:

non enim rumores ponebāt ante salutem,

and I fancy there were plenty of examples like this (and possibly like *apūd Cumas*) in the lines that are not extant. That a comedian, above all a jolly soul like Plautus, would allow bizarre artificial pronunciations of words or phrases to pervade his plays is so impossible that I have always thought it a waste of time to collect proof that his *quid est hoc*, his *volūptatem*, Terence's *ex Graecis bonis*, echoed actual everyday utterance. Some Plautine scholars insist that, if *bonis* in this sentence (where the word has sarcastic emphasis) were pronounced *bonīs*, it must have been always a pyrrhic, that *volūptatem* in Virgil proves the unreality of *volūptatem* in Plautus. But that is the same as to assert that 'what is this?' in Milton proves the unreality of 'what's this?' in Shakespeare. Is it worth arguing with people who assert such things? The only suitable argument is banter. One should not hurt people's feelings, but I cannot refrain from quoting this sentence from an Irish journal. It is so deliciously Irish: 'Perhaps then to an ancient poet [I think he means Plautus] it may have been a boon to strip a word at once of its work-a-day air by chanting it to another and a stranger cadence.'

What theory do my critics (at least in Germany) prefer to mine? They maintain that the shortening is due to the ictus of the line. *Ex Graecis bonis* is the result of the short syllable *bo* being 'under the ictus.' In other words, Terence wrote down the sentence (not verse): *ex Graecis bonis Latinas fecit non bonas*, and found that an ictus fell on the short syllable *bo*. That satisfied him; the line would scan; for *bonis* would in these circumstances become *bonīs*. (Presumably if the ictus

had 'happened' to fall on *La-*, the fourth word would have become *Latinas!*) To them the difference between *ad istam vallem*, *ad illam vallem* on the one hand, and *ad istam vallem*, *ad illam vallem* on the other, is that *ad* stands 'under the ictus' in the first type, but not in the second. To me the difference is that the pronoun is a sentence-enclitic in the first. And here is a subject for a dissertation: Collect all examples of *ille*, *iste* after a short preposition or pronoun in the dialogue of Plautus and Terence and see whether there is a single example of shortening when *ille*, *iste* has any emphasis (e. g. 'to that valley, but not to this'). In a phrase like *ad illam vallem* both *ad* and *illam* would usually be sentence-enclitics (the first of the pair taking a secondary accent). Plautus' *ad illam vallem* reappears in the Romance languages (Ital. *alla valle*) and was presumably the natural pronunciation for a Roman at all times.

It is unlucky that Commodian's poems have been preserved in one manuscript only, a Verona transcript, I think (now in two parts), of a volume that passed from Cassiodore's library at Vivarium to Bobbio. Still it is in transcripts from an exemplar in unfamiliar minuscule that there is most likelihood of error, and probably the traditional text is sound enough. Here too there is opportunity for useful research. Examine Commodian's rude hexameter in the light of Plautine scansion on the one hand and of Romance philology on the other. Is it a faithful reflection of the unconventional Latin of the time or did Commodian '*ut versum faceret*' (to quote Cicero's phrase) do violence to the language, in his re-action against the artificial rules of the 'correct' poets who wrote for the educated classes?

Hardie speaks (p. 217) of the 'high degree of . . . artificiality' in the *novi poetae*. One usage of Catullus on which I should like to see a dissertation is the Greek usage of lengthening a final short vowel before an initial consonant group. Even if there were a certain example in previous Latin poetry I would still call it a Greek usage, but the isolation of Ennius' *stabilita scamna* (Ann. 96), in contrast with the persistent short scansion by all the old poets, makes one doubt the reading. Certainly every one will allow that Catullus' *impotentia freta* is quite Greek and un-Roman, even if opinions differ about his *nulla spes*. Was it Catullus (and his friends) who first imposed this Greek prosody on Roman verse? And do the other great poets bind

themselves to the Greek chariot wheel in his slavish fashion? Will not some one sift out the 'Greek' licences of Virgil (e. g. *Actaeō Aracyntho*) from the genuine Roman usages (e. g. *an qui amant*)? No doubt, there are already books and articles and lists of statistics, but no intelligent treatment (so far as I know) of the gradual invasion of Roman poetry by Greek prosody, the traitors who admitted the alien, the patriots who repelled him.

Finally, a remark so desultory as to over-leap the scope of this paper. Will not some one undertake a full history of the *novi poetae*, of that wonderful transformation of Roman poetry by a professor and his pupils, that Celtic (yes, Celtic) movement that prepared a way for Virgil? Valerius Cato's *Lydia* and *Dirae* (the first Roman imitations of Theocritus) the *Ciris* (by Gallus or by Virgil and Gallus), the *Culex* (young Virgil's fairy-tale to amuse a very youthful prince) and the poems of Virgil's student days, all would claim a place.

W. M. LINDSAY.

ST. ANDREW'S, SCOTLAND.

## V.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO LATE LATIN LEXICOGRAPHY.<sup>1</sup>

*absentor*: ab adspectibus hominum -ari RUF. *Clem.* 10. 66.  
*abscisio*: nec . . . patitur (anima) . . . -em aut coniunctionem RUF. *Clem.* 3. 4. *accipiter* = homo rapiens: istum humani corporis -em AMBR. *Tob.* 7. 25. *adeptio*: -e bonorum defraudari AMBR. *Hel.* 18. 68. *adhinnio*: equi -entes AMBR. in *Ps.* 118. 4. 8; fiunt ex hominibus equi -entes *Hel.* 16. 59; nolite amare -entes *Nab.* 15. 65. *adleuamentum*: ieiunium est infirmitatis -um AMBR. *Hel.* 8. 22. *agellulus*: exturbare . . . -o suo pauperem AMBR. *Nab.* 1. 1. *annosus*: s. u. *Thes.* II. 114. 33 for 'annosissimus AUG. Ep. 3. 3.' read 'AUG. Ep. 137. 3.' (Ep. 3 became Ep. 137 in the Benedictine edition of AUG. (circa 1696). It looks as though the Edd. of the *Thes.* had taken this ref. from previous lexica without any attempt at verification.) *apicula*: -am AUG. c. *Acad.* 1. 7. 20; -a Ep. 15 (*fin.*). *apocatasticus*: quia tempora tua malitiosus suscepit Mars aut Saturnus, aut aliquis eorum -us fuit RUF. *Clem.* 10. 11. *apophoretum*: s. u. *Thes.* II. 1147. 35 for 'relationis' read 'uelationis.' *appetentia*: s. u. *Thes.* II. 279. 84 for 'AMBR. 1. 9. 91.' read 'AMBR. *de Abrah.* 1. 9. 91.' ut illaquearet -am corporalem AMBR. *Hel.* 1. 1; quanto audior -a, tanto esca iucundior 9. 32. *auctionator*: frumenti -or AMBR. *Nab.* 5. 22. *auicula*: AUG. *de uer. relig.* 87; c. *Acad.* 3. 4. 7; *de Magist.* 10. 32; c. *Faust.* 32. 13. *aula* = uterus: In this sense 'aula' is not always used of the 'uterus Virginis Mariae,' as the *Thes.* says II. 1459. 27; e. g. nisi in locum suum illa recipiendorum seminum -a reuocetur, uitam consuevit excludere AMBR. in *Ps.* 118, *Serm.* 19. 1.

*captura*: in -a piscium positus RUF. *Clem.* 2. 62; = 'a

[The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (London, England) has committed to the author of these Contributions the preparation of a Dictionary of Later Latin, the aim of which will be to cover 'with fulness and precision the whole period from Suetonius to Bede.' These first-fruits are intended as corrections and additions to the *Thesaurus* and other lexica, but considerations of space have rendered it impossible to print the full context of the illustrative passages.—Ed.]

catch' consueta officii uotum -a fefellit PAUL. PETRICORD. *Vit. Mart.* V (CSEL, Vol. 16; line 656); captura fefellit *ibid.* l. 671. *cauma*: tum fontes gelido moderantes caumata potu DREP. FLOR. *Hymn. Ananiae* (Migne PL. LXI. 1086 A). *compaginatio*: -e stellarum homines aut homicidae aut adulteri fiunt RUF. *Clem.* 9. 16. *compellatio*: hac -e turbator AUG. *c. Acad.* 2. 7. 16. *cudo*: -is argentum AMBR. *Tob.* 14. 50.

*deductor*: s. u. *Thes.* V. 284. 2 for 'AUG. Ep. 4. 6. 1.' read 'AUG. Ep. 46. 1.' *defluxio*: nec . . . patitur (anima) . . . influxionem aut -em RUF. *Clem.* 3. 4. *disproficio*: hebetudine haeretica -is HIL. *Trin.* 10. 33. (Quillacq, *Quomodo lat. lingua usus sit S. Hilarius*, p. 46, gives only *Trin.* 11. 11—which example was pointed out also by E. W. Watson in JP XXVIII. 84.)

*eradicabilis*: omne (uerbum) quod non fructuosum, periculosum atque -e AMBR. *in Ps.* 38. 5. *esus*: alia ergo -i, alia alii nascuntur usui AMBR. *Hex.* 3. 9. 39. *esox* (ἑσός): in-nexum . . . traxit | congaudens -em PAUL. PETRICORD. *Vit. Mart.* V, line 676. *ezagitatio*: ipsi sibi sunt propriae -is auctores AMBR. *Nab.* 14. 62.

*immediatus*: quid sit omnium primum, quidue -um . . . docendum est RUF. *Clem.* 1. 20. *inaquosus*: usually — ἀνῆδος (e. g. arida et inaquosa loca HIL. *in Matt.* 12. 21) (cf. Rönisch, *It. und Vulg.* pp. 125, 225), but — ἐνῆδος in RUF. *Clem.* 3. 3 terrestria et -a et uolatilia animalia. *incompellabilis*: ἀκατομήατος, id est, -e RUF. *Clem.* 8. 15. *incolatus*: ad tertii-us demonstrationem HIL. *in Ps.* 2. 32; demutatione -us . . . ignobiles *in Ps.* 51. 19. (Quillacq, op. cit. p. 24, gives only *in Ps.* 118. 4. 1.) Cf. Archiv für lat. Lexic. VIII, p. 239; Mayor's TERTULLIAN *Apol.* Index s. u. *indeseccabilis*: -is naturae portionem deseca HIL. *Trin.* 10. 34. (Quillacq, p. 36, gives only *Trin.* 5. 8. *indeuotus*: -us uideri AMBR. *Abrah.* 2. 7. 40. *indigestio*: indigestio cibi AMBR. *Hel.* 11. 38. *indubitabilis*: -em fidem RUF. *Clem.* 1. 25; cf. 3. 41 fidem -em. *inferax*: inutiles atque -es siluae HIL. *Trin.* 9. 55 (*med.*) (not in Quillacq). *informitas*: forma et informitas . . . ex -e uel deformitate RUF. *Clem.* 8. 54. *infusio*: -e diluuii purgare terram AMBR. *Abrah.* 2. 1. 1; -em . . . diuinae praesentiae Isaac 3. 8; Spiritus Sancti -em *Abrah.* 2. 8. 48; *Ep.*

80. 2; pluuiarum -e dissolui SALV. *Gub.* 3. 1. 1. *inintelligentia*: inscrutabilium iudiciorum . . . -am HIL. *Trin.* 8. 38 (*ad fin.*); -am 10. 30. (Quillacq has no ex. of this word.) *ininitiabilis*: ad unum -em . . . uniuersa referimus HIL. *de Synod.* 26. 59; ex -is intelligentiae natiuitate *Trin.* 9. 57. (Q., p. 36, gives only in *Ps.* 63. 5; Watson in JP XXVIII. 85 adds in *Ps.* 118, *Koph.* 9. *ininuestigabilis*: causas -ium sacramentorum tractare HIL. *Trin.* 10. 70. *innascibilitas*: Christus . . . ex -e Deus uerus est HIL. *Trin.* 9. 31; 9. 57 (*bis*); *de Synod.* 26; 47 etc. (Q., p. 19, gives only *de Synod.* 60.) *inobseruans*: -is et perfidi . . . contagium AMBR. *Isaac* 3. 6. *inuestigabilis* = unsearchable: quis hanc ualeat altitudinem -em inuestigare et inscrutabilem perscrutari? EUGIPP. *Thes.* XX. 35 (= AUG. *C. D.* 12. 14).

*lacto*: future partic. exceptionally rare. (*tigris*) quasi -tura foetus residet AMBR. *Hex.* 6. 4. 21. *lator*: epistolae (for the more usual 'perlator') AUG. *Ep.* 45. 2. *ligneolus*: -is canalibus AUG. *de Ord.* 1. 4. 11. *litterio*: -es AUG. *Ep.* 118. 4. 26.

*metallicus* (nouo sensu): (episcopos) in ecclesiasticis frontibus scriptos -ae damnationis titulo HIL. *c. Constant.* 11 (not given by Quillacq). *militariter*: AUG. *Ep.* 118. 4. 26.

*peridrome*: matricis AMBR. in *Ps.* 118. 19. 1. *pincerna*: -ae AMBR. *Hel.* 8. 25; -arum 13. 48. *proeliator*: -es AMBR. *Hel.* 13. 50; -em in *Ps.* 118. 18. 24. *profanus* (superl.): HIL. *c. Const.* 12 (not given by Q.). *promuscis*: -e haurire aquae plurimum AMBR. *Hel.* 17. 65; replere concauum -is *ibid.* *pro-tensio*: -e HIL. *Trin.* 9. 37; -em 6. 17. (Q., p. 18, gives only *Trin.* 5. 37.) *prouisor*: -e RUF. *Clem.* 8. 15; -em rerum 10. 50. *punctio*: -es facinorum AUG. in *Ps.* 74. 9 (*post med.*). *purpurasco*: -entem . . . colorem AMBR. *Hex.* 3. 5. 21.

*quadrifidus*: ficulneae . . . folium . . . -a interscinditur diuisione AMBR. *Hex.* 3. 14. 60.

*retrocessim*: si tam uberis in praeteritos sanctificatio uelut *retrocessim* missa conscendit quam affluens in uenturos *antecessim* [*sic Ed., recte; codd. autem 'amicos' praebent*] (si dici potest) declinauit atque defluxit PACIAN. *Traité inéd.* in Morin, *Anec. Mared.* II. 1 (*Etudes, Textes et Découvertes*), p. 134. 15 ff.

*subconnumero*: Spiritus Sanctus . . . -atur . . . Patri et Fi-



lio RUF. *Clem.* 3. 11. *substitutio*: elementorum diuersas -es  
 HIL. *Trin.* 9. 31. (Q., p. 23, gives only *Trin.* 1. 16.) *subticeo*  
 (subticesco?): -uit aliquantum AUG. *de Ord.* 1. 3. 9 (*init.*).  
*supersapio*: -ere HIL. *Trin.* 10. 53 (*med.*). (Q., p. 45, gives  
 only *de Synod.* 6.)

*testimonialiter*: VIGIL. THAPS. (?) *contra Mariuad.* praef.  
*trituratorius*: area -a (Publicola in) AUG. *Ep.* 46 (*med.*).

*uermiculatus*: -um pauimentum AUG. *de Ord.* 1. 1. 2. *uio*:  
 -antes AMBR. *Tob.* 1. 5.; -antes incognitam carpentes uiam  
 Abrah. 2. 2. 6. *umbo* (nouo sensu): praetumidae -ibus ca-  
 pillorum AUG. *de Sanct. Virg.* 34 (*ante med.*). *usurpator*:  
 quasi improbus -or concidit ianuas AMBR. *Nab.* 14. 62. S. u.  
*usurpatrix* in Lewis & Short, for 'Salv. Gub. 3. 12' read 'Salv.  
 Gub. 4. 12. 56.'

J. H. BAXTER.

KING'S COLLEGE,  
 ABERDEEN, MAY, 1919.

## REPORTS.

HERMES LV (1920), 1 and 2.

Zu den Kaiserreskripten (1-42). U. Wilcken attempts, in the face of divergent views, by means of "observations and hypotheses," to clarify our understanding of the form and method of issuance of the imperial rescripts, which Mommsen's publication of the inscription of Skaptopara, discovered 1868, has made especially interesting (Mom. Jurist. Schr. 2. Bd. pp. 172 f.). Wilcken distinguishes sharply between the rescript (or subscriptio), made in response to a libellus of a petitioner, and the epistula. The rescript (or subscriptio) was made on a space provided on the libellus, beginning with a formal pre-script; viz., Imp. Caes. T. Aelius etc. Sextilio Acutiano (without the salutatio of the epistula). Thereupon followed the subscriptio, executed by an official *a libellis*, and finally, when the accuracy of the subscriptio had been vouched for with the *Recognovi* of the chief of the chancery, the emperor wrote his *Scripti* (or *Rescripti*), and affixed his seal (Suet. Aug. 50), omitting the *vale* of the epistula. Moreover, from the time of Hadrian, with the cessation of the magisterial edicts, the channels through which the libellus with appended subscriptio reached the petitioner became more complex. For now the propositio was introduced, a custom that can be traced for a century. During this period a certain number of such documents were joined in the order of their accession to form a roll, which was then exposed at Rome (eventually also at Alexandria), from which the petitioners were obliged to obtain certified copies. These temporarily exposed rolls were then returned to the archives, where they were pasted on to those previously exposed during the current quarter of the year. The several petitions could be traced with the aid of paging and serial numbers. The local publications on stone, like that of Skaptopara, were made from the copies of the petitioners. They show a number of arbitrary omissions, which with the fragmentary state of the inscriptions and papyri have made it difficult to understand numerous points of juridical and historical importance which W. discusses.

Zu den Persern des Aischylos (43-62). K. Münscher discusses the meter of vv. 93 ff., 532 ff., 674 ff. and offers some emendations of the text of U. von Wilamowitz.

Ein neues Bruchstück des Diagoras von Melos (63-67).† B. Keil discovered in an unedited scholion of Vatic. graec. 1298

to an oration of Aristides a seventh version of the anecdote that Diogenes had on a certain occasion used a wooden statue of Heracles to cook a dish of lentils. The closing sentence is metrical: <πρὸς> δώδεκα τοῖσιν ἄθλοισι || τρισκαίδεκατον τόνδ' ἐτέλεσ(σ)εν Ἡρακλῆς διός. Keil argues that these words, which he accepts as a new fragment of the poetry of Diagoras, suggested to someone in the II century A. D. the invention of the above anecdote to illustrate the supposed atheism of Diagoras. The relation of the other inferior versions to this one is shown.

Das philosophiegeschichtliche Compendium des Areios Didymos (68-98). E. Howald extends his source-analysis of Diogenes Laertius (Philologus N. F. XXVIII (1917) pp. 119 f.) to show that a compendium of lives of philosophers and their views, which he calls A, originated with the Callimachean Hermippus; but was remodelled, receiving numerous later additions. As no citation is later than the beginning of the Christian era, its author may have been Areius Didymus, the teacher of Augustus. The Theophrastean tradition in it was preserved better than in Actius. Howald traces at length its influence in Hippolytus, Clemens of Alex., Eusebius, etc.

Miscellen: F. Bechtel (99-100) derives the name of the Athenian Σμόκορδος from σμοκορδοῦν, which was expanded by an hypocoristic κ-element from σμορδοῦν, as ἀσπακίζομαι was from ἀσπάζομαι (cf. Hesychius). He cites the Spartan names Ἀλεξάκων, Ἀπελλάκων etc.—E. Meyer (100-102) derives the πύργος that Preisigke describes as a massive industrial building, (A.J.P. XLI pp. 387 f.) from a primitive tower (Hebrew 'migdal'), such as is mentioned in Isaiah 5, 1 f.; Mark 12, 1, etc. See the illustration in Robert, Sarkoph. Rel. III 3, 436; compare also the τετραπυργία in A.J.A. XVI p. 77.—K. Praechter (102-104) emends Plot. Ennead. VI 1, 11 (Müller p. 243, 14 f.) τὸ δὲ τραχὺ καὶ τὸ λείον καὶ τὸ ἀραιὸν καὶ τὸ πυκνὸν ὁρθῶς ἂν λέγοιτο ποιά (omitting οὐκ) in opposition to Aristotle Categ. 8 f., who classified the rough, dense, etc., as cases of θέσις and πρὸς τι. The close of the Plotinian passage should read: εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτων, οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ ὥς (not ὡς) ποιά εἶναι.—P. Groebe (105-107) shows that Cicero wrote his Brutus between Dec. 1, 47 and Feb. 1, 46 and the Paradoxa betw. 2-21 Feb. 46 (corrected calendar).—M. Leumann (107-111) cites passages illustrating the semasiology of fustis. From its use in the army, originally in the hands of the general, it became an instrument for judicial punishment, so that in addition to the earlier virgis caedere, the law books show fustibus caedere, castigare, verberare. The German 'Prügel kriegen' is a translation of fustes accipere. A gradation from the admonitio per verba to the fine, the virgae, fustes, flagella, and vincula can be

noted.—O. Weinreich (111-112) explains the difficult genitive *interfectae virginitatis* in Apuleius *Metam.* V 4 as a 'Genetiv des Sachbetriffs,' which has been frequently discussed in recent years.

Zum griechischen Bankwesen der klassischen Zeit (113-173). J. Hasebroek, encouraged by the light thrown on Roman and Hellenistic banking methods by the Egyptian papyri (cf. Preisigke, *Girowesen im griechischen Aegypten*, 1910), endeavors through a critical examination of selected passages from Demosthenes, Isocrates etc., combined with historical and economical considerations, and references to medieval and modern practice, to obtain a better understanding of the Greek banking system during the classical period. The money changer had developed into a coin expert, a medium for making payments, a trusted custodian of money, as well as of other valuables, and finally a dealer in credits, in short a banker, who in time left money-changing to the simple money-changer. In general the transactions were verbal, even in the time of Plautus. Payments on written orders, or by means of *σύμβολα* were comparatively rare. A higher development of a system of checks or bills of exchange has been assumed for the classical period than is justified. Interstate commerce was restricted by numerous handicaps. There was no system of international credit; branch banks did not exist. Foreign bills of exchange cannot be assumed even for Roman times. Cicero's money-orders bear some resemblance, but do not prove the existence of the bill of exchange, which was a creation of the outgoing middle ages. International payments were usually made by shipments of coin, and to a certain extent by loans on bottomry. An exchange of accounts is recorded in Isocr. *Trap.* 35. Even the local banking business was chiefly verbal, and usually in the presence of witnesses, although fear of the unlimited power of the state induced many to make their deposits without witnesses, trusting to the integrity of the bankers. A distinction must be made between deposits for interest and drawing accounts which facilitated payments. The check system, however, was still in the elementary stages. Besides doing a credit business bankers also engaged in industrial and commercial enterprises. The details given are illuminating and the literature cited especially valuable.

Zwei Hydrophoren (174-187). E. Preuner discusses a forgotten inscription from Didyma, published by Ussing 1854, which honors a hydrophoros of Artemis Pytheie, named Lenis, during whose term of office, it is stated, Miletus recovered her autonomy. It is dated with the names of the annual prophet (name illegible), and stephanephoros (Hegemandros son of Nicomachus) whose year (38/7 B. C.) can now be determined by the lists of Mile-

sian stephanephoroi. That the recovery of the autonomy of Miletus is also mentioned under the name of the preceding stephanephoros can easily be harmonized. A third inscription tells of a prophet (year of office unknown) who had negotiated the freedom of Miletus at Rome, and ten years earlier had obtained ivory for the temple at Didyma from Ptolemy XIV. These various officials were frequently members of the same family, and a stephanephoros could later obtain the office of prophet. P. also discusses an epigram of the II century of our era, (Dittenb. Syll.<sup>2</sup> 785) in which another hydrophoros is honored. This was Vera (Βήρα), the daughter of the physician Glaucias, who was called from Argos to the office of hydrophoros of the Patmian Artemis, which is significant as Patmos was one of the several localities that claimed to have received the statue of the Taurian Artemis.

Aus einer Apollon-Aretalogie (188-195). W. Schubart publishes with emendations and notes the Greek papyrus P. 11517, which is fragmentary in the first and third of its three columns. Written in the second century of our era, it represents in dramatic form a sacrilegious attack on the holy precinct of Delphi. The leader, Daulis, threatens the life of the prophet and denounces the Delphic oracles as impostures. The prophet seeks refuge at the hearth of the perpetual fire, remonstrates with Daulis and finally invokes the god Apollo and threatens the atheist with the Erinyes. Schubart gives a tentative analysis and thinks it probable that the conclusion told of a miraculous rescue by Apollo; hence the document may be classed as an aretalogy of Apollo, a form of literature of which little is known.

Die Handschrift C von Justins Epitome (196-203). A. Mentz assumes that codex C was indirectly derived from a carelessly written stenographic archetype, which would explain certain arbitrary variants. For example in Justinus XXIV 8, 11 C has *se*, which can be represented by a nota that is similar to the one designating *vitam*, the reading of the other MSS, but simpler; and as errors in copying a stenographic MS would naturally be made by substituting the simpler for the more complex sign, Mentz rejects the reading of C, and concludes from this, and other such tests, that henceforth C may be neglected, and suggests a wider use of his hypothesis.

Die Schriftenverzeichnisse des Aristoteles und des Theophrastus (204-221). C. Howald continues his investigation of the philosophical handbooks (see Howald above), and especially discusses the edition of Aristotle's works by Andronicus of Rhodes, on which the questionable library of Apellicon had no influence.

Miscellen: W. Otto (222-224) takes the *χρηματιστικὸς πύλιν*

in Polyb. XV 31, 2 to mean a wing of the palace. The papyri show that the *πυλών* of private houses contained both living- and store-rooms. The Greek translation of the book of Esther renders the 'king's gate' in 4, 2 with *πύλη τοῦ βασιλέως*, elsewhere with *αἶλη*. Josephus renders the same in his paraphrase partly with *βασιλεία*, partly with *αἶλη*. Otto cites also *αἱ βασιλέως θύραι* in Xen. Anab. I 9, 3 etc.; *οἱ ἐπὶ θύραις* in Plut. Them. 29 etc. This oriental use of 'portal' and 'gates' to mean the palace itself can be traced down to modern times (cf. The Sublime Porte).—F. Bechtel (224) thinks the name *Τραγευρίνα* was given to a certain locality in Arcadia (Mnemos. 42. 329 f.) from its resemblance to a goatskin, as *τραγεῦρινος* would mean one who wears a goatskin.

HERMAN LOUIS EBELING.

GOUCHER COLLEGE.

#### RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, LXXIII, 1 and 2.

Pp. 1-34. Bernhard Laum, Alexandrinisches und byzantinisches Akzentuationssystem. The object of this paper is to show how the Byzantine system of Greek written accent, which is identical with that of our present printed texts, developed from the original, or Alexandrian system. With a view to the restoration of the Alexandrian system, Laum examines first the theoretical treatises of the Alexandrian grammarians and, in particular, the doctrines of Herodian as contained in the *Ἰλιακή* and *Ὀδυσσειακή προσφῶδια*, since most of the accented papyri fall in the time of Herodian. The following rules are established by Laum for the Alexandrian accent of words in the interior of the sentence: 1. All monosyllabic oxytones are barytone, that is, have the grave accent. 2. All dissyllabic and polysyllabic oxytones have the acute. Before enclitics and marks of punctuation they are likewise oxytone. 3. The dissyllabic prepositions retain their acute; only in cases where the following word has either acute or circumflex on the first syllable, does the acute change to grave. In particular cases, the acute is retained even under the latter circumstances (e. g. *περί* = *περισσῶς*). 4. Oxytone pronouns retain their acute if they are orthotone. After a comparison of the grammatical theory with the practice in the papyri, it is found that, although the preceding rules are adhered to, there is sometimes a variation in the writing of the accent. A grave on the penult, or on both penult and antepenult, may denote an acute on the ultima. In the papyri the accent, when acute or grave, stands over the first vowel of the diphthong; when

circumflex, it extends from the first vowel to the second. The Byzantine system grew out of the Alexandrian. From the time of Aristarchus the number of accented texts increased until the second and third centuries. In the third century the Alexandrian system began to decay. Large numbers of accented texts were produced in this period, and quality yielded to quantity. The grave accent showed a tendency to pass over farther to the right, due to increased speed in writing. The accent on diphthongs was shifted to the second vowel. The papyri, as examined by Laum, show this as a gradual development. Finally, about the fourth century there came a complete breakdown, and the confusion reached its maximum. The new system was not based on the theories of Herodian, but was built up from the accented texts. In these, dissyllabic oxytones had come to have the grave on the ultima and, as they appeared in much greater numbers than the polysyllabic oxytones that had the grave on one or more of the preceding syllables as well, the usage in the case of the dissyllables became the standard, and the polysyllables dropped the graves from all but the final syllable. The texts of the fifth century show that the new system came at once into full authority.

Pp. 35-45. E. Ritterling, 'Zur Zeitbestimmung einiger Urkunden vom Opramoas-Denkmal. An attempt to supplement the chronology of R. Heberdey (Opramoas, Inschriften vom Heron zu Rhodiapolis, Wien, 1897) with regard to the monument of Opramoas in the Lycian city of Rhodiapolis. The monument contains decrees of the federation of Lycian cities and letters from provincial governors and from the Emperor, Antoninus Pius. Ritterling deals, for the most part, with the chronology of the various documents and with that of the provincial governors. Opramoas was born probably before the year 86. In document No. 13 (Heberdey), the *ἐπάνοδος* is not the journey of the Emperor Hadrian in the year 129 or 130, as Heberdey thinks, but the return of Trajan to Italy in 117, due to the illness that forced him to abandon his campaign in Mesopotamia.

Pp. 46-58. G. Helmreich, Zum sogenannten Aurelius de acutis passionibus. The text of Aurelius in the Brussels MS, from which it was published by Daremberg in 1847 (Janus, II 468-499; 690-731), is handed down in a very incomplete state. However, Gariopontus has incorporated the whole of Aurelius, with the exception of chapters 8 and 17, in his compilation, and seems to have used a MS better than the Brussels. Daremberg did not recognize this. Helmreich compares the readings of Aurelius with those of Gariopontus, and in many cases an im-

proved text is the result. Nearly two hundred readings are compared and discussed.

Pp. 59-83. Wilhelm Bannier, Zu griechischen und lateinischen Autoren (II). Notes, partly textual, partly interpretative, on: 1. Alcman's Partheneion, Anth. Lyr. 5, 45 ff. 2. A fragment of Cratinus (Meineke, II 61; Kock, I 35). 3. Thuc. III 12, 3. 4. Horace, Sat. I 6, 125 f. 5. Ovid, Fast. II 203 and 204. 6. Ovid, A. A. I 331 ff. 7. Manilius, I 382 ff. 8, 9, and 10. Seneca, Troad. 8 ff.; 301 ff.; and 988 ff.

Pp. 84-101. Otto Seeck. Libanius gegen Lucianus. A commentary on Libanius, Orat. LVI (Contra Lucianum) dealing, for the most part, with the chronology of the oration and that of the life of Lucianus. The speech was composed between the summer of 388 and that of 391, and not between 389 and 392 (Forster). Seeck thinks it very probable that the Lucianus of Libanius and the one mentioned by Zosimus (V 2) are the same. If so, the death of Lucianus occurred in the summer of 393.

Pp. 102-123. T. O. Achelis, Die fabel Doligami. The identity of the Doligami (gen.) mentioned in the preface of Steinhöwel's *Æsop* and in a few other German editions has hitherto remained unknown. The variants *Doligani* and *Doligiani* also occur. By a consideration of the Latin fabulistic poets known at the time whom Steinhöwel could have used for his collection, Achelis comes to the conclusion that Doligamus must be Angelo Poliziano. Steinhöwel probably wrote POLITIANI. POLITIANI was first corrupted to DOLIGANI, later to DOLIGAMI.

Pp. 124-126. Miscellen. Conrad Cichorius, Mancina. Cichorius thinks *manciola* 'Händchen' (Laevius in Gellius, XIX 7, 10) is a diminutive of an unattested word *mancia* and not an assimilation to *brachiolum* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, Rhein. Mus. LXXII 153 ff.). *Mancia* does appear as a proper name, and designations of the parts of the body are frequently used as cognomina (e. g. *barba*, *coxa*, etc.). Thus there may have been a vulgar Latin word *mancia*. On the other hand, *brachiolum*, which, in the meaning 'Ärmchen,' occurs only once in Latin literature (according to the Thesaurus), and that in Catullus (61, 181), may best be regarded as an imitation of Laevius' *manciola*, since Catullus was strongly influenced by Laevius.

Pp. 126-128. A. Brinkmann, Lückenbüßer, 29. In Plato's Symposium, 195A and B, Brinkmann thinks Plato probably wrote: μετὰ δὲ νέων δὲ ξύνεσσι τε καὶ <ἵστι τοιοῦτος οἰσίστηρ(οίστηρ) δὲ ξύν>εστιν.

Pp. 129-136. P. E. Sonnenburg, De Catulli phaselo. The



fourth poem of Catullus has nothing to do with any personal experience or voyage of the poet, according to Sonnenburg. The poem is evidently written in accordance with a convention somewhat similar to that of the votive epigrams of the sixth book of the *Anthologia Palatina*. But Catullus has not made the master of the *phaselus* or the *phaselus* itself the speaker, but has introduced a third person recounting to the hospites of v. 1 the story of the *phaselus* in its own words. That is, he seems to explain to the *hospites* an inscription on a votive offering and written in the first person. The man who is speaking resembles a guide or a *mystagogus*, one of a class which was accustomed to exhibit and explain to strangers the wonders of cities and temples. The strange diction is used in order to display the *vanitas* of this man.

Pp. 137-160. H. Schöne, *Verschiedenes*. Notes, mainly textual, and discussion of: 1. Various passages from Greek authors of which there has reached us a twofold version, and an emendation of Quintilian, VIII 6, 64. 2. Fragment of Antiphon, *περὶ ἀληθείας* (Oxyrh. Pap. XI 1364; Diels, Berl. Sitz.-Ber., 1916, p. 932). 3. Scholium on *θεῖον* in Hippocrates, *περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου*, chap. 1 (in Klein's *Erotian* p. 7, 13 ff.; in Nachmanson's edition p. 108, 10 ff.). 4. Hippocrates, *περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων*, chap. 12 (I 54 Kühlewein). 5. Plato, *Parmenides* 127C2. 6. Note on the direct *ἔφη* where one would expect *φάναι* or *εἰπεῖν* in the *Parmenides*. 7. Extract from Plato's *Laws* from Pap. Berol. 9766 (Diels, *Berliner Klassikertexte*, II 54, 14 ff.). 8. Anonymous commentator on Plato's *Theaetetus* (*Berliner Klassikertexte*, Heft 2, Kol. 14, 6 ff.). 9. Title of Galen's *Protrepticus* in the editio princeps, the Aldine of 1525. 10. Galen's *Protrepticus*, 34; 10, 31 ff.; and 12, 28 ff. 11. Galen, *Protrepticus*, chap. 12, p. 18, 20 ff. Kaibel. 12. *Nemesius*, p. 206 Jäger. 13. Galen, *περὶ τοῦ προγιγνώσκου*, 14 (XIV 627 K.). 14. *Apollodorus*, *πολιορκητικά* (p. 145, 1 Wescher; p. 14 Schneider).

Pp. 161-173. Paul Cauer, *Terminologisches zu Platon und Aristoteles*. Detailed discussion of the origin and development of the technical terms *μίμησις* and *ὄρος* in Plato and Aristotle.

Pp. 174-198. Karl Münscher, *Kritisches zum Panegyrikus des jüngeren Plinius*. Detailed discussion of the text of the first eight chapters together with remarks on rhythmical clausulae in Pliny and a consideration of the question whether chapter 7 shows the effects of Pliny's recension before publication. The latter question is answered in the negative.

Pp. 199-215. Arnold von Salis, *Die Brautkrone*. Von Salis maintains against Valentin Kurt Müller (*Der Polos*, Diss. Berlin, 1915, pp. 85-88) that some sort of crown or wreath worn by the bride was essential to the ritual of Greek marriage. The

fact that the young unmarried dead woman was considered the bride of Hades and therefore wore the wreath of a bride is indicated by several vase paintings.

Pp. 216-231. O. Hoffmann, *Latina*. 1. Latin *praedium* contains the preposition *prae*. It is derived, therefore, from *prae-dium*, in which the *-d-* represents the I. E. root *dhē-* 'setzen, legen.' Out of the abstract meaning the concrete has developed. Therefore, 'das Davor-Liegen' has become 'das davor-liegende Grundstück.' (Cf. Greek *προ-άστειον* and German Vor-werk.) 2. Das Imperfektum. The Latin infinitives *parā-re* and *legē-re* came from *\*parā-se* and *\*legē-se* (cf. *es-se*), and these apparently from *\*parā-s-i* and *\*legē-s-i*. If the view generally advocated is true, this infinitive was originally the locative of a verbal abstract in *-es*, and *leg-ēr-e* (from *\*leg-ēs-i*) exactly corresponds to a *scel-er-e* (from *\*scel-es-i*). There is no objection to assuming its original locative meaning for the combination of such an infinitive with the preterite *\*fām* 'ich war.' Then *\*parāsi-fām* and *\*legēsi-fām* paraphrase the imperfect of the past exactly as do the German phrases 'ich war am Rüsten, beim Lesen.' In *\*parāsi-fām* and *\*legēsi-fām*, the voiceless spirant *-f-* between vowels, according to original Latin phonetic laws, changed by way of the voiced spirant (*ḃ*), to the voiced explosive *-b-*: thus *\*parāsi-bam* and *\*legēsi-bam*. The unaccented vowel of the middle syllable had already disappeared to a great extent even in prehistoric times. Thus we have a further shortening from *\*parāsi-bam* and *\*legēsi-bam* to *\*parās-bam* and *\*legēs-bam*. And in this form the *-s-* must have disappeared before the voiced *-b-* with resulting lengthening of the preceding vowel; thus *parā-bam* and, with compensatory lengthening, *legē-bam*.

Pp. 232-239. L. Radermacher, *Christus unter den Schriftgelehrten*. Discussion of the story told by Luke of "Christ among the Doctors." Radermacher does not think there is any saga-motif to be discovered here (i. e. the motif of youthful precocity) or any connection with similar stories told of Augustus (Suet. Aug. 94, 6), Alexander (Plutarch, Alex. p. 666e), Buddha (Clemen Rel.-gesch. Erkl. 243 f.), and the Egyptian Si-Usire (Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Oxford 1900, I 11 ff.; II 27). Radermacher suspects the numbers three and twelve, which figure in the story of Luke, of being merely approximations. He cites many examples of their use in this sense.

Pp. 240-242. Kurt Witte, *Das achte Gedicht der theokritischen Sammlung*. The seventh tetrad (57-60) is genuine and belongs to the same speaker as does the sixth (53-56). According to tradition, the seventh belongs to Menalcas. That this was not the case originally is demonstrated by the epigram of Eratos-

thenes Scholasticus (Anth. Pal. VI 78). Its sources are the epigram of Theocritus (Anth. Pal. VI 177) and the tetrad VIII 57-60. We may assume that in the edition of Theocritus used by Eratosthenes the strophe 57-60 belonged to Daphnis, and that a tetrad has fallen out in our tradition. The missing tetrad stood after verse 52. In it Daphnis spoke of Naïs. It formed together with the extant one (49-52) the third double tetrad. The whole poem should consist of four double tetrads and two octads.

ROBERT PARVIN STRICKLER.

KINGWOOD, WEST VIRGINIA.

## REVIEWS.

*Collectanea Hispanica*. Par CHARLES UPSON CLARK. (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. XXIV. 1920.) Paris: Champion. 243 pp. 70 plates.

Any objections that a hostile critic might wish to apply to the present volume are answered by the title. The term *Collectanea Hispanica* makes no claim to a finished performance. One obvious imperfection immediately meets the eye in the diminutive and often scarcely decipherable plates. But these do not represent Professor CLARK's idea of what reproductions of manuscripts should be. In a rapid and extensive journey through Spain, undertaken in 1907 mainly in behalf of the late lamented Dr. Rudolf Beer of Vienna, he took with a small camera a large number of photographs of characteristic books, many of which had never been reproduced in any way. He had time for making only a few notes on the manuscripts that he photographed, but the collection served his purposes for his courses in palaeography, and seemed so valuable to Dr. Beer that the latter urged its publication. The work is written in French. It was ready in 1910, but various reasons, including the war, have delayed its appearance. The small photographs were somewhat enlarged and turned into admirable heliotypes by Champion. After all, even the most minute reproduction can be read easily with a glass,—and that is less expensive than taking a trip to Spain.

Such is the apology for the plates; the work as a whole needs no apology. Professor CLARK, after doing full justice to his predecessors in this subject, states precisely what he has accomplished (p. 22):

Dans le présent ouvrage enfin, on trouvera des reproductions de mss. jusqu'ici très difficiles à étudier, comme le palimpseste de Léon, l'onciale de Barcelone, le Veronsensis, le Cavensis, les Legionenses de la Bible, le fameux Alvarus (Smaragde) de Cordoue; le premier aperçu un peu détaillé des travaux antérieurs sur l'écriture wisigothique; la première description minutieuse des particularités de cette écriture; la liste de M. Lowe notablement complétée; des listes de mss. datés, de copistes, de provenances, etc., plus complètes, en ce qui concerne les mss. encore existants, que celles de Beer. Je ne prétends point avoir dit le dernier mot sur le sujet; j'espère pourtant que ce recueil contribuera à la solution des problèmes relatifs à l'histoire intellectuelle de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-Age.

Perfectly conscious of what he has done and what he has not done, CLARK has added to his edition of Ammianus Marcellinus another noteworthy contribution to learning. In the development of writing in Spain, he has a great and fascinating theme. Though he does not pretend to have reached the goal, he has taken a long stride forward.

CLARK has sifted and sorted his complicated material with

skill. He gives us first, after a comprehensive bibliography, a list of all manuscripts, fragmentary or complete, that are known to him, assigning them Arabic numbers from 500 to 713. The total number, two hundred and fourteen, exceeds by one hundred the manuscripts discussed by E. A. Lowe in his valuable brochure, *Studia Palaeographica*, published in 1910.<sup>1</sup> Some of the additions,—a majority, I should judge—CLARK himself unearthed; for the rest he expresses indebtedness to Lowe, Lindsay, Dom Wilmart, and last but not least, Abbé Liebaert, whose death in 1915 cut short a career of fine achievement and most brilliant promise.

In the above list, which I will call No. I, the manuscripts are grouped according to the libraries in which they are found today. There follow No. II, a chronological list of extant dated manuscripts, and No. III, a list of scribes and illuminators. List IV contains the places in which manuscripts are surely known to have been written. No. V is a list of fac-similes, including the plates in Ewald-Loewe (IV-XXXVIII), those in the present work (1-70), and (71-161) those in various publications to which reference is made. Finally, No. VI, come the descriptions, with careful transliterations, of his own plates. By this arrangement, one finds at a glance all the material important for the study of various topics.

There is one inconvenience, easily avoidable, in the disposition of the material. In the account of the manuscripts shown in the plates, the information is divided between No. I and No. VI. Despite the use of cross-references,<sup>2</sup> it is something of a nuisance to keep an eye on two widely separated sections of the book, besides the plate itself, and especially to find—though this is a rare occurrence—that the information is not quite consistent in the two descriptions.<sup>3</sup> This difficulty might have been obviated if the description in No. I had been reduced to lowest terms—designation of the manuscript, date, contents, and a reference to the number of the plate, where everything else would be found. In the case of manuscripts not illustrated in the plates, the complete account would of course appear, as now, in No. I.

Encouraged by this plentiful array of lists, I feel like demanding one more,—that of the authors contained in the different manuscripts, which would be chronologically arranged under each name. Such a list would be an index, however in-

<sup>1</sup> In the Munich *Sitzungsberichte*, No. 12.

<sup>2</sup> No. 589 lacks a reference to Pl. 37, and the description of Pl. 37 to No. 589. No. 628 should refer to Pl. 21.

<sup>3</sup> The description of No. 524 is divided between p. 41 and p. 228 in a most inconvenient way. The dating of Lowe for No. 534 (s. X<sup>ln</sup>) is accepted on p. 34, but on p. 69 that of Ewald-Loewe, s. X/XI.

complete, of the literary interests of Spain, and would reveal the astounding paucity of the Classical authors accessible in Visigothic manuscripts. St. Isidore, St. Gregory and Beatus would loom large in the list, but the stray Terence of the eleventh century seems like an unwelcome guest. It is the only manuscript of a pagan Latin author in the Visigothic script. The manuscripts are not our only clue, but in themselves, we must note, they give little encouragement to those who would trace the pedigree of various Classical texts in the early Middle Ages from France back to Spain. There were doubtless lines of tradition running from Spain northward down to the times of St. Isidore and the learned bishops of Toledo, but the coming of the Moslems worked for Latin literature in Spain what the Middle Ages did for Greek literature all over Europe. We must make allowance for exaggeration, but, in general, the dismal picture of Spanish culture painted by Eulogius and Albarus<sup>4</sup> is confirmed by the testimony of the Visigothic manuscripts described by Professor CLARK.

However, the Moslems had a culture of their own, and, as everybody knows, exerted a profound influence on later mediæval thought, and in Spain, on mediæval art. There is a highly important bit of testimony presented in these *Collectanea* of a much earlier interchange of views between Arabs and Christians than has been thus far noted. Historians who have touched on this movement begin their account with the career of the learned Gerbert († 1003), who in his youth had studied mathematics at Barcelona, and they tend to minimize the importance of Arab influence at that time. But Moslem culture had become well established at the end of the seventh century, and it flourished in the centuries following; Cordova became the Bagdad of the West. Spain was rife with theological controversy in the eighth century, owing to the heresy of Adoptianism, and one of CLARK's manuscripts shows that a Christian thinker had studied the Arabs as well as the Fathers of the Church. In one of the two Visigothic manuscripts at Monte Cassino, containing St. Ambrose's work against the Arians, some reader has added marginal notes in an interesting kind of cursive. Since he refers to the heretic Elipandus as a man of his own times, he must have lived either at the end of the eighth century or very early in the ninth. One of his notes is thus deciphered by CLARK:

Hinc destrues errorem Ibin hamd[on] qui alium esse ho[mi]num, alium domini nostri Ihu xpi asserit patrem.<sup>5</sup>

The last word is hard to make out. The form of the letter *p* is peculiar,<sup>6</sup> and the theological conception, if *patrem* is what

<sup>4</sup>Manitius, *Gesch. der lat. Lit. des Mittelalt.*, 1911, p. 422.

<sup>5</sup>No. 640 (Pl. 12, p. 132), Casinensis 4.

<sup>6</sup>Apparently it has a loop on the left side, a form not mentioned by

the Arab wrote, is more than peculiar. Who Ibn Hamdon was I have not been able to find out.<sup>7</sup> Whether or not he was a convert to Christianity, he took an interest in Christian theology and made a somewhat startling contribution to it. Now the manuscript also contains notes in Arabic; there is one, still undeciphered, on this page. Is the scribe a Moslem critic of St. Ambrose or a convert from Islamism? Did he perhaps write the Latin note as well? The author of this, at any rate, is either a native Christian who has studied the Arab writers or a converted Arab who naturally has not forgotten them. These are both tiny notes, but with others of the same nature,<sup>8</sup> they bear witness to an important phase of society in Spain manifest as early as the eighth century,—an intellectual give and take between the conquerors and the conquered. Moeller, in his *History of the Christian Church*,<sup>9</sup> noting the similarity of Adoptianism to Nestorianism, suggests that "the controversy was perhaps influenced by the old Antiochene tendency, through Oriental Christians who had come to Spain in the train of the Arabs." Ibn Hamdon would seem to be of such a tribe.

CLARK's account of the characteristics of Visigothic writing is noteworthy for its caution. Despite his familiarity with a wide range of manuscripts, he is not inclined to theorize much as to the development of the script, believing that Merino, Muñoz and Lowe have gone too far in this direction. He quotes with a modified approval Lowe's description of the essential epochs in the history of Visigothic writing; he cannot subscribe to it fully. Lowe's four classes seem to the reviewer broadly enough stated to allow for exceptions; there is nothing that I have observed in CLARK's new material that tends to diminish their value. Lowe's memorable criterion for dating Visigothic manuscripts—the use of different forms of the ligature *ti* to express the assimilated and the unassimilated sound of these let-

H. B. Van Hoesen, *Roman Cursive Writing*, 1915, p. 237, though two of the sixth-century forms of the letter show a tendency in this direction; see Table 6, Nos. 16 and 19.

<sup>7</sup> Could the name be Ibn Hamdin? An Ibn Hamdin was kadi of Cordova in the eleventh century. See Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, iv, 251 ff. Clark's transliteration of the note agrees with that of the monks of Monte Cassino (*Bibl. Cas.* I p. 99). As they give another note (p. 100) containing the name Ibn Hamdon, the complete form may appear in that place. They describe the note to the eleventh or the twelfth century,—falsely if the script is the same as that of the present note.

<sup>8</sup> There are evidently other bits of Arabic in the margins of the manuscript, as there are in Cas. 19 "saec. IX" (*Bibl. Cas.* p. 233). All of these should be examined by some Arabist. A Latin-Arabic glossary is extant, compiled at least as early as the tenth century. See Clark's No. 554.

<sup>9</sup> Translated by Rutherford, Vol. II (1893), p. 132.

ters<sup>10</sup>—CLARK fully accepts and uses constantly and successfully. Lowe's rule has thus run the gauntlet of new and considerable testing and has come out unscathed. His other principle, the frequent use of *i longa* in Visigothic, has not fared so well. There are plenty of illustrations of it, and plenty of exceptions; it is not so valuable as the former rule in determining dates.

On the origin of Spanish minuscule, little if any light is shed by the new material gathered by CLARK. It issues, like the other national hands, from the Roman cursive. For Italian script there is such an abundance of cursive and half-minuscule texts that one can see the national hand growing as naturally as a plant from the old Roman cursive into the full flower of the Beneventan style.<sup>11</sup> In Spain there are so few traces of cursive, and these are so late, that the minuscule of the end of the eighth century appears as a sudden phenomenon without precursors. As CLARK believes that he has listed virtually all the Visigothic manuscripts in existence, this part of the subject can be cleared up only by some unexpected discovery. A study of the Visigothic charter-hand might yield some information; it is to be regretted that the *Collectanea* offer no specimens of this hand.

Whatever caution should be observed in details, we may safely enough select the creative period in the history of Visigothic script as the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century, a period roughly corresponding with the reign of Alphonso the Great (866-910). Lowe enumerates the essential characteristics of this script, which forms the second of his four classes.<sup>12</sup> In general, I think it may be said that this is the period in Spanish writing that most nearly suggests, not in its appearance, but in its observance of definite principles, the script of St. Martin's of Tours in the generation of Alcuin and that which succeeded him. It is during the reign of Alphonso that the *ti*-distinction, only loosely observed before, is adopted as a permanent trait of Visigothic. It is then also that the scribe begins to take such an interest in his product that he attaches his name to it.<sup>13</sup>

The first of the scribes in CLARK's list and the first, so far as he or Lowe has observed, to use the *ti*-distinction, is a certain Maius, who in 894 wrote at San Miguel—a monastery of uncertain locality—a wonderful illustrated manuscript of Beatus. This manuscript, then, ushers in the period. CLARK lists it (No. 570) under London, where it once belonged to Henry Yates

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 76 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Particularly as set forth in Lowe's *The Beneventan Script*, 1914.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 80.

<sup>13</sup> The list of scribes and illuminators of pp. 66 f. contains thirteen for the years 894-925, twenty-six for the rest of the tenth century, and twenty for the eleventh century.



Thompson. One American city will have to appear in a revision of this list, for the book is now among the treasures of the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York. It is gratifying that a work at once so intrinsically beautiful and of such historical importance should be accessible in our own country.

Another scribe whose work is adequately illustrated for the first time is Florentius, who wrote at Valeranica near Burgos in the middle of the tenth century. Plates 65-68 are devoted to one of his books (No. 512), a copy of Smaragdus, now at Cordova, which was the first Visigothic manuscript ever reproduced.<sup>14</sup> On the strength of later reproductions, the manuscript has generally been assigned to the eleventh century. One gets the same impression of the slim and graceful letters of a highly ornamental script as we see it for the first time in an accurate reproduction. But with the help of external testimony furnished by Dom De Bruyne, CLARK fixes the date beyond question in the neighborhood of 960. There are three other manuscripts with the signature of Florentius, with dates running from the year 945 to 962. So round about the middle of the tenth century a new and delicate manner comes in, the essence of which is that assigned by Lowe to his third period. It is a fact like the overthrowing of previous judgments of this manuscript of Florentius that may well induce CLARK, after his survey of so large a field, to be slow in his ultimate conclusions.

As with the origins of the script, so with its disappearance before the all-conquering Caroline hand, a broad and unexplored field still lies before us. In the latter case, the investigator is not embarrassed, as in the former, with the lack of material. We also need a treatment of the relation of the French and Spanish systems during the time when the latter was in its prime. Spanish monks penetrated into the northern country at least as far as Lyons and Fleury and have left various mementoes of their presence. One of the most interesting is a manuscript of the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (No. 650) at present in Paris. It is written in a Caroline hand from a Visigothic original; the scribe, unfamiliar with the abbreviations that he found, retains for *per* the form *-P* which in his own script should stand for *pro*. In several places, he is evidently so puzzled at the text that he calls in a fellow-scribe, who inserts the passages—in Visigothic. A similar supplement in Visigothic appears in a manuscript of Lyons (No. 571). There are Visigothic marginalia in a famous book of Fleury.<sup>15</sup> A study of all

<sup>14</sup> In 1606, by Bernardo Aldrete.

<sup>15</sup> No. 681, Vat. Reg. 267. CLARK's error in giving the contents of this book has already been corrected by Lowe (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1921, p. 465). It contains not the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* but the works of Bishop Fulgentius. I can add that the Visigothic notes to which Liebaert called CLARK's attention are found on a score of pages and

the Carolingian books with Visigothic notes or supplements would be profitable. The period of interchange which they indicate would seem to be the latter half of the ninth century; but no positive statement can be made until the material is examined.

Despite his policy of caution, CLARK constantly gives his own opinion as to dates, to the great benefit of the discussion, and he not infrequently indicates the character of a script by comparing it with some other style. The cursive on Plate 12 reminds him of Bobbio, the minuscule of No. 534 s. X (Ewald and Loewe No. xxxvii) has "une ressemblance frappante avec celle du scriptorium de Saint-Gall en Suisse," while the latest style of Visigothic writing shows a "faible ressemblance" to the Insular hand (p. 242). The last resemblance is, at least to my eye, feeble indeed, and the others are hardly worth the noting. All early cursive is more or less the same, and a Visigothic hand of the early tenth century suggests only one period in the history of the script of St. Gall, that represented by Winithar in the eighth;<sup>16</sup> by the beginning of the tenth century, the period with which comparison would be profitable, altogether different methods were in vogue at St. Gall. The superficial resemblance between the earlier style of St. Gall to that of Spain about a century later is due to the development of both hands from the same origin. The point to observe is not the resemblance at the start but the difference in the speed and character of the development.

The account of Visigothic abbreviations is the best that has appeared. It may seem strange that Lindsay's *Notae Latinae*, 1915, is nowhere mentioned, not even in the bibliography, but as is explained in the preface, the circumstances of printing account for this omission. CLARK published a review of Lindsay's work,<sup>17</sup> with extensive additions of details drawn particularly from Spanish manuscripts.

There is a brief discussion of diacritical signs and of punctuation, a subject on which CLARK promises a comprehensive work. In general, the ancient system of employing a dot half way up the letter, or near its base, for a half-stop, and a dot near the top of the letter for a whole-stop, is observed by Spanish

run through the volume. The hand seems to be of the ninth century; in the one test case that I noticed, the *ti*-distinction is not observed. The MS itself, partly in uncial and partly in semi-uncial script, was doubtless written at Fleury not long after its founding in the seventh century. (See Chatelain, *Unc. Scrip.* Pl. xxx, lxxix.) Some Spaniard, who read it there about two hundred years later, added in the margin headings and comments such as (fol. 190): *non quantum quis uiserit sed qualiter*, and (fol. 226v): *ausculta o peccator et gaude*. CLARK should have given a reference to Bannister, *Pal. Mus. Vat.* No. 122, with a reproduction, Pl. 15a. I have several photographs.

<sup>16</sup> See Chroust *Mon. Pal.* I xiv, 1-5. <sup>17</sup> *Class. Weekly* 1917, p. 189.

scribes. The former is often accompanied by a superimposed stroke sloping to the right, like an acute accent; the latter often has a downward stroke, placed sometimes beneath the dot, sometimes at its side. The final pause may also be denoted by three dots. It would have been easy to represent in the transliterations the main varieties employed. The interrogation mark is reproduced, but by using merely a dot for all other punctuations, CLARK imparts to the sentences a jerky and inconsequential character that is not fair to the actual methods of the scribes. Periods, inverted periods, commas and single quotation-marks would have illustrated the punctuation with substantial accuracy; or at least commas might have been used for the minor pauses.

Signs are employed in the early Visigothic manuscripts not only for punctuation but for accentuation (p. 105) and likewise for marking prosody. In a manuscript of Juvencus and other Christian poets (No. 628, s. IX/X), the shorts and longs of two verses of Fortunatus are indicated as they would be to-day (Plate 21). It would seem also that the marking gives directions also as to the elision. Thus in the first line,

Aspĕră cōndīciō ēt sōrs ĩnrĕvōcābīlīs hōrĕ (sic)

the last two syllables of *condicio* are apparently treated to synizesis with shortening of the *o*. In the second line,

Quūm gĕnĕrī hūmānō trīstīs ōrīgō dĕdīt

we are apparently enjoined not to clip the last syllable of *generi*, but to shorten the first two syllables of *humano*. The last bit of advice is unsound, but the gist of the matter, the sounding of *ri* and *hu* in conjunction, seems true to ancient practice. The caesura is marked by an upright stroke, and is apparently treated to an ictus, for the same sign is applied to the final syllable of the verse. These marks seem to be contemporary. If other cases of such a practice exist, they ought to be collected for their bearing on the vexed question of metrical ictus and elision.

Aware that a great work of this kind cannot be spotless on its first appearance, CLARK invites corrections and additions. There are doubtless few Visigothic books that are not registered here, but there is still some confusion as to the particular manuscripts to which various scholars have referred. The transliterations, which I have tested in many places, are done with scrupulous care. I discovered only a few trivial errors and misprints.

CLARK hopes that his material will be of service to the future historian of the development of writing in Spain. No palaeographer would fail to applaud if CLARK undertakes that task himself. A useful preliminary would be a study, with really

suitable fac-similes, of all the dated manuscripts. Nor would co-operation be out of place in so extensive an enterprise. As CLARK finds Lowe too audacious and Lowe thinks CLARK a bit hesitant, the proper combination of safety and speed would indubitably appear in a history of Visigothic script by CLARK and Lowe.

E. K. RAND.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

The Atharvavedīyā Pañcapāṭalikā throwing light on the Arrangement, division and text of the Atharva Veda Saṁhitā with a translation and an index of the pratikas. Edited by Bhagwaddatta B. A., Professor of Vedic Theology and Sanskrit and Superintendent of the research department, D. A.-V. College Lahore, 1920, 8° pp. 14 + 39.

Under the leadership of Bhagwaddatta the research department of Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College is showing noteworthy activity. Those interested in the Atharva Veda will be glad to see that it is directed largely to the task of rendering accessible the still unpublished ancillary literature of that Veda. In particular the class of works termed lakṣaṇagrantha or 'works devoted to the accurate description' of the saṁhitā seems to be the main objective. Of these the Caranavyūha (AV. Par. xlix. 4. 8) lists five—not four as has generally been understood: (1) caturādhyāyikā (2) prāṭiçākhyā (3) pañcapāṭalikā (4) dantyoṣṭhavidhir (5) bṛhatsarvānukramāṇī. Editions of the first four have been completed by these scholars, or are now nearing completion. The most interesting fact with regard to them is that the mss. collated for the caturādhyāyikā are said to contain considerable material not included in Whitney's edition. Interesting also is the fact that the prāṭiçākhyā is (as noticed already by Bühler; cf. Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda*, p. 20) a distinct work. The Pañcapāṭalikā is then the third in the list just quoted; and this harmonizes with the subtitle given by the editor—apparently on the basis of some tradition—*trītiya lakṣaṇa grantha*.

In the occident the knowledge of this text has been a gradual acquisition. Whitney first noted certain short remarks in the colophons of his manuscripts of the Atharva and saw that they must be fragments of an "Old Anukramāṇī." Then Shankar Pandit gave more extensive quotations in his commentary; next these materials were worked up (cf. p. lxxi *et passim*) in the Whitney-Lanman translation. Now we are at last presented with the text in full. The edition seems—I must speak with reserve for I can use neither the introduction nor the translation

—to be based on three mss. and the Whitney-Lanman quotations. It may be presumed that these are the three mss. mentioned in Whitney-Lanman p. lxxii and that they are all the material available. The book went thru the press during a printers' strike, and has consequently a number of misprints which it is hoped to correct shortly in a second edition. Apart from these the editor has solved the problem of the *recensio* in good, workmanlike fashion which makes me all the more regret my inability to profit by his exegesis.

The broadest interest of this text is that it adds one more witness to a well-known fact—the painstaking philologic industry with which the Vedic theologians strove for the accurate perpetuation of their sacred texts. Beyond this, however, it throws light on certain details of the external form of the *Samhitā* which may be noted in connection with a short description of its contents.

The little treatise is divided into five chapters and twenty sections; but thru a mistaken repetition of 9 the number of the sections in this edition is reduced to nineteen. Chapter I, sections 1-4, treats in verse of the manner in which repeated portions of the text should be presented. In I. 4. 2 *tisrṇām atrivat smṛtam* the word *atrivat* should have been printed as a *pratika*; the meaning being that v. 23. 10-12 (— ii 32. 3-5) is an example of a passage where the abbreviation *iti tisrah* is to be employed. The reading of the Berlin edition and of most of Whitney's mss. for AV xviii 4. 26, and 43 is confirmed against 'Sāyaṇa' and Shankar Pandit by the citation of the latter verse as one to be abbreviated by the *iti pūrvā* formula. This is a typical example of the position taken by this text when these other authorities differ.

Chapter ii, 5-10 in prose mentions a classification of the hymns into *ṛkya*, *paryāyika* and *yajus* and then proceeds to give book by book the usual number of hymns in an *anuvāka* together with the number of *anuvākas* that are exceptional. The text, in spite of its jejuneness, clears up several points in the interpretation of AV xix 23 about which the Whitney-Lanman translation was entirely at sea. In the first place *mahatkāṇḍa* is shown to mean, as Weber finally saw, the fifth book. For the item beginning *mahatsu* is placed between statements relating to Books i-iv and Book vi; it is said that with a single exception (later defined correctly as beginning with v 16. 1 and containing 6 hymns) its *anuvākas* consist of 5 hymns; and finally it is stated a few lines later that among the *mahānti* sc. *sūktāni* hymns are found consisting of all numbers of verses from 8 to 18 except 16. It follows, therefore, that AV xix. 23. 18 must mean: "To the book of the great hymns *svāhā*!" and that there can be no question of referring it to a "grand

division," or of transposing it to another place. AV xix 23. 1-17 must then refer to Books i-iv. If so, the additions " (in genuine Hindu fashion) merely for schematic completeness " are even more widespread than Lanman assumed; for in those books there are no hymns of 14, 15, 17 or 18 verses. I find no difficulty in believing that, and may point to the same force manifesting itself again at a later time when Sāyaṇa's text inserts between 19 and 20 *dvyrcebhyaḥ svāhā*. The item about Book vii in our text *ṛkasūktā ekarceṣu* seems corrupt. I may suggest <sup>1</sup> *anekasūktā*, " the *anuvākas* comprise various numbers of hymns." Some such meaning is guaranteed by the later enumeration of the number of hymns in every *anuvāka*, showing that no norm had been mentioned. Then follows: *dvisūktāḥ kṣudreṣu* clearly meaning Books viii-xi,<sup>2</sup> (cf. Lanman's citation from the Major Anukr. p. clviii) a meaning that is obviously acceptable also for AV xix 23. 21. Later we shall see that the *Pañcapāṭalikā* handles Books viii-xi as a single book—with the hymns numbered consecutively. The meaning of *ekāṇṛcāni* for AV xix 23. 22 is then pinned down to Book xii, since the following verse is *rohitebhyaḥ svāhā* — Book xiii. The same meaning is possible for our text which reads *anuvākasūktā ekāṇṛceṣu*; but as the same is true of Books xiii-xiv, xviii as well, the meaning may have been extended to include them, or a sentence *rohita-sāurya-yameṣu* ca may have been lost. The problem is complicated by the mysterious term *ekāṇṛcāni*. To hazard a guess, these should be "hymns that comprise (an *anṛcasūktam*) a hymn that contains no verse from the Rig Veda." Now xii. i is such an *anṛca*, but there is nothing of the sort in xiii, xiv, or xviii; for xiii 4 as a *paryāya*-hymn is barred from the comparison. The matter is further obscured by the summary fashion in which the topic is closed: *kāṇḍasūktāḥ geṣe paryāyika-varjam*. This should probably be amended to *°sūktāḥ*—but the division intended for Book xviii is uncertain, for there is a variety of opinion about xvii or xvii-xviii; *vrātyapṛāṇapat-(ya)yor eva pṛthag vibhāṣitam uttaram yat*. Then follow a couple of obscure sentences—seeming to say that the normal length of a hymn varies according to the book, and that exceptions occur only in excess of the norm, and then the passage relating to Book v already cited.

The following section (6) gives the number of hymns in the *anuvākas* that are exceptions to the above rules. In Book vii

<sup>1</sup> The correction to *rk-sūktā* translated, Whitney-Lanman, p. cxlix, "among the one-versed hymns (the *anuvākas* consist) of hymns made of one verse" is nonsense in this context.

<sup>2</sup> They are called *kṣudrāṇi* "minute," I presume, because they are so long—oxymoron.

every anuvāka receives treatment, and after that book there are no exceptions. The arrangement follows the order of the saṁhitā, except that all anuvākas with the same number of hymns are listed together under the first occurrence of an anuvāka with that number. The divisions accord exactly with the Berlin edition.

Sections 7 to 10 give the number of verses for those hymns in Books i-vii which have a number of verses that does not conform to that given by the title (caturṛcāni etc.) of the book. The arrangement is the same as for the anuvākas, except that in Book vii the various items are arranged according to the number of verses (2-verse hymns, 3-verse hymns etc.) not according to the position of the first hymn in each item. The shift is probably due to the fact that the two systems happen to coincide for Book vi. For Book v the title (mahānti) suggests no number; accordingly no number is treated as a "norm" but the number of verses in each hymn is listed. Among these are two (v. 9, 10) with eight verses, the mention of which would be a departure from the system without parallel in this text, had 8 been regarded as a "norm" for this book.<sup>3</sup> In the seventh book hymns 74 and 76 were postponed for separate treatment; otherwise the statements and implications about the hymn division are in exact agreement with the Berlin edition.<sup>4</sup> The statements of the Major Anukramanī accepted by Lanman, p. cxlix n. are explicitly or implicitly contradicted: 68 and 72 are listed as 3-verse hymns, 6 as a 4-verse hymn, while 55 as being a 1-verse hymn is not mentioned. Twenty-six (not 30) hymns are listed as two-verse hymns and they are those of the Berlin edition. At the close stands the following: apacitām iti tadarthasūktāni catvāri|apacidbhesajam|īṣyāpanayanam|vratopāyanam|goṣṭhavratīyaṁ ca to indicate a division: 74. 1-2 a cure for apacits; 74. 3 to exorcise jealousy; 74. 4 at the entrance upon a vow; 75. 1-2 for the goṣṭhavrata. The last hymn has been recorded as dvyrca in its proper place, and its inclusion here serves merely to give the student his bearings. The division is obviously sensible. A similar treatment of hymn 76 should follow or the hymn should have been listed among the caturṛcāni where there is, however, no temptation to haplography, which might render its omission there plausible. I assume, therefore, a lacuna at this point.

<sup>3</sup> According to Whitney-Lanman, p. cxlviii, n. 2, the Major Anukramanī has such a deviation in specifying that i. 1 is a caturṛca. The Pañcapāṭalikā is consistent in making no mention of this fact, nor does it share the other two errors mentioned in this note.

<sup>4</sup> When vii. 80 is cited as a caturroam there is a parenthetical remark that it includes an ekarcam to Prajāpati—clearly the third verse is meant.

Chapter iii, sections 11-14, contains prose lists<sup>\*</sup> of the verses with one, three, four or five punctuation marks, implying that the others have two.

As the Berlin edition has generally followed closely the mss., its punctuation is usually that of the *Pañcapaṭalikā*. The latter differs, however, in classing as: 1-avasāna verses i 26. 2, 4, xii 2. 44; 3-avasāna iv 38. 7, viii 5. 22, xvii 1. 6-8, 10-13, 16, 18-19, 24, xviii 4. 88; 5-avasāna ix 5. 33. I have made no attempt to check the *dvyavasāna*, but have noted incidentally that xvii 1. 17 and xviii 4. 86-87 are printed otherwise in the Berlin edition. In the last passage Whitney-Lanman incline to bringing the text into harmony with the *Pañcapaṭalikā* by inserting an *avasāna* mark. The whole difficulty is apparently due to the failure (p. 869) to interpret correctly "the strange *ityātas*" of the *itiprabhṛti* . . . *ityātas* formula. In the "Old *Anukramaṇī*" *ityātas* occurs not only here, but in several other passages and always means "up to but not including . . ." The statement is consequently that verses 71-85 (not 71-86) are 1-avasāna: thus leaving verses 86 and 87 to be punctuated alike with two marks. It would seem that *ityātas* might then be interpreted *ity ā atas*. Returning to the above list, a comparison of the Whitney-Lanman translation will show that in all these instances the Berlin edition has departed from the manuscripts.

The fourth chapter, sections 15-18, deals with the number of verses in each *anuvāka*, or rather that is the subject up to the end of the seventh book. From the eighth to the eleventh book (incl.) the counting is, as we are explicitly told, by hymns. After that the count is by *anuvākas* which consist, however, always of one hymn except in the *paryāya* books. The chapter is metrical and the numbers called "norms" in the Whitney-Lanman translation are chosen merely to get the statements into a convenient metrical form. This is clear; but, if proof is desired, reference may be made to the treatment of Book vii to which two verses are given. The first says of the first five *anuvākas* that they contain so many verses above twenty; the second describes the last *anuvākas* without reference to any "norm," giving simply the numbers twice twenty-one, thirty, twenty-four, twenty-one, thirty-two. Book xiii is handled in the latter fashion simply because the numbers to be mentioned (60, 46, 26 *ṛcas* 6 *paryāyas*) are widely scattered. It offers no foundation for the theories of Whitney-Lanman, p. 708, cxl. The subject matter for Books i-vii occasions no comment. One verse (4. 15. 3) is assembled in Whitney-Lanman p. cxl, the others are given piecemeal at the ends of the *anuvākas*. I may

<sup>\*</sup> In the *tryavasāna* list the items for Books xvii and xviii have been transposed.



note that the obscure *ekatriṣaṣṭis tryaṇṭiḥ* (p. 258) now turns out very simply *ekavṛṣas tryaṇṭiḥ*; and the answer to the puzzle on p. 295 is: *dvyadhikāv apacid-dvitiyāu*.

Books viii-xi (the *kṣudrāṇi* cf. above) are next treated in seven verses. That the author regards these four books as a unit is manifested in many ways: (1) His system of presentation is to group all hymns with the same number of verses together, picking his examples from any book, for instance: *prāṇāya* (xi. 4) *brahmacārī* (xi. 5) *ca*

*yāu te* (viii. 6) *indrasya prathamah* (x. 4) *kutaḥ* (viii. 9) *ye bāhavas* (xi. 9) *tṛtiyaṁ* (viii. 3) *tu*  
*sapta ṣaḍviṇṇakāni tu*

(2) All the *paryāya*-hymns are similarly grouped in one verse.\*

(3) The author numbers across the division between Books viii and ix, calling ix 8 the eighteenth, ix 9, the nineteenth, ix 10 the twentieth hymn. That he does not cite from Books x-xi in the same fashion is due simply to metrical convenience, for he does cite xi 10 as the 'last' (*antya*) hymn.

(4) The next to the last verse, which clearly must be transposed† to the end, lumps the rest of the hymns:

*dve tisro viṇṇatīḥ pañca caturdaṣa caturdaṣa*  
*catasraḥ saptānupūrveṇa ṣeṣaḥ syus triṇṇateḥ parāḥ*

The remainder of the chapter occasions no comment beyond noting that Book xvii follows Book xviii through some accident.

The fifth chapter, sections 19-20, treats in verse of the subdivisions of the *paryāyas*. Its statements agree with the divisions of the Berlin edition except for the fourth and fifth *paryāyas* of ix 6 which are here made to contain ten *avasānarcas* apiece. The mss. are said to be divided.

Two points stand out:

1. There are in general two lines of tradition: (a) *Pañcapaṭalikā*—the majority of the mss.—the Berlin edition; (b) the *Major Anukramaṇī*—*Sāyana*—the minority of the mss.—*Shankar Pandit*—and to some extent *Whitney-Lanman*. As a matter of *recensio* the first of these lines is entitled to the preference.

2. The *Whitney-Lanman* arrangement of the *Samhitā* into

\* But one *pāda* reached the *Whitney-Lanman* translation. So it seems worth while to quote the verse, which at least goes far towards settling the question raised by *Lanman*, p. 611 by confirming the division of the Berlin edition.

*virāḍ vāi tu ṣaṭ paryāyā yo vidyād iti ṣaṭ smṛtāḥ*  
*prajāpatis tathāikah syāt trayas tasyāudano bhavet*

† At least two other passages are similarly misplaced, and there are besides probably the lacunas already mentioned. This points to a single archetype derived probably from a damaged (worm-eaten) manuscript.

three grand divisions i-vii, viii-xii, xiii-xviii is deprived of the support from the *Pañcapāṭalikā* claimed (cxxxix f.) by Lanman. It is not necessary to argue the matter in detail (the source of the error is largely the belief in "norms" for the *anuvākas*) for the one clearly marked grouping in the *Pañcapāṭalikā* is viii-xi which is confirmed by the *Saṁhitā* itself and is fatal to the scheme of the grand divisions. Whatever the merits of this arrangement may be, they are the results of nineteenth century logical analysis and destitute of historical significance. If the external peculiarities of the *Saṁhitā* can give any clue to the process of its compilation, they tend to point rather in this direction: Books i-vii are a section formed by the combination of two collections, both arranged according to the number of verses in the hymns, but one in an ascending, the other in a descending scale. A second edition is the *kṣudrāṇi*,—recognized as a unit in AV xix 23. 21,—four books viii-xi with the external peculiarity of having two hymns to an *anuvāka*. A third section is composed also of four books xii-xiv, xviii containing *anuvāka-sūktas*, and grouped according to subject matter in contrasting pairs *bhāuma-sāurya*, wedding-funeral.\* Within this section Books xv, xvi, xvii have been afterwards interpolated.

One may congratulate Dayanand College and Mr. Bhagwad-datta upon the publication of this text and look forward with interest to the appearance of its successors.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

Anaximander's Book, The Earliest Known Geographical Treatise. By WILLIAM ARTHUR HEIDEL. Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vol. 56, No. 7. Pp. 237-288. April, 1921. Library of The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 Newbury Street, Boston, Mass. \$1.00.

Professor HEIDEL has omitted, as being foreign to his purpose, a discussion of the philosophic theory of Anaximander, which forms the subject of a previous study by him in *Classical Philology* VII 212-234. He has likewise refrained from taking up anew the discussion of the word φύσις, which he has so exhaustively treated in "A Study of the Conception of Nature among the Pre-Socratics," Proceedings of the American Acad-

\* If my interpretation of *ekānrcāni* is correct, its use for Book xii can best be understood as originating in this group.

emy of Arts and Sciences XLV 79-133. He has, however, subjected to the closest scrutiny and weighed with the utmost care all the available evidence with reference to the literary and scientific activity of Anaximander. The conclusion reached by him is that Anaximander wrote a single work—a geographical treatise—and that the various titles current at one time or another in antiquity represent but so many different names either of the work as a whole or of its constituent parts. The character of the book is described by the author on pp. 237 sq. as follows:

"In compass it cannot have been large, if the statement of Diogenes Laertius, which in this particular is probably drawn from either Apollodorus or Posidonius, is true; for he reports that Anaximander gave 'a summary exposition of his opinions.' In spirit and intention it was historical, purporting to sketch the life-history of the cosmos from the moment of its emergence from infinitude to the author's own time, and looking forward to the death and dissolution not only of the earth and its inhabitants but also of this and all particular worlds. This being so the exposition naturally followed the order of chronological sequence, recounting first the origin of the world and of the earth, proceeding with the origin of life and the evolution of species capable of living on land as the once all-engulfing sea gradually allowed dry land to appear, the origin of human life, probably in Egypt, and the spread of the race and its civilization. Heroic genealogies bridged the interval between the beginnings and the disposition of the peoples and their habitats in Anaximander's time, which were, however briefly, sketched in his book as well as figured on his chart. In this portion of his treatise, presumably, occurred some at least of the explanations which he gave of certain outstanding natural phenomena, such as earthquakes, and such strictly historical data as the old Milesian saw fit to give. They would most naturally concern the royal houses, not improbably linked up with Heracles, of the great powers of Asia, the Lydians and the Medes."

Limitations of space preclude the possibility of giving even a brief account of the course of the argument. Suffice it to say that Professor HEIDEL appears to have made out his case. It is to be hoped that the essay will be widely read. The young scholar will find it a source of inspiration and a mine of information; and the veteran will be sure to read it with pleasure and profit.

C. W. E. MILLER.

## BRIEF MENTION.

### INDEX SCOLIODROMICUS.

(Grammaticos) intra muros peccatur et extra.

The story of the section of the *American Journal of Philology* known as Brief Mention has been told over and over again in Brief Mention itself, and need not be repeated here. A list of the syntactical observations contained therein is comprised in the *Indiculus Syntacticus* published in 1916 (A. J. P. XXXVI 481 ff.) for the possible use of those who might be interested in that line of study. Now at the instance of one near to me who was led to believe that a similar list of my extra-syntactical notes would be welcome to declared friends of Brief Mention, a register of those divagations has been prepared, and it appears in this number of the *Journal*, under the old familiar heading, with the kind permission of the present editor.

The title "*Index Scoliodromicus*" was suggested by an article on Brief Mention in the *New York Independent*. The index itself has been compiled under my direction by Dr. Lawrence H. Baker, of the Johns Hopkins University, who has not only satisfied the exacting conditions of the task, but has cheered the way by hearty goodwill and ready sympathy.

B. L. G.

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